

SAC, Atlanta

November 3, 1955

Director, FBI (105-34237)

52079

**CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X**

*Min*  
Each of the offices receiving copies of this letter is conducting inquiries relative to organizations formed for the purpose of maintaining segregation. As you were advised previously, copies of all reports prepared in connection with these organizations should be disseminated to local intelligence agencies.

In the future, copies of the initial report prepared on each organization should be disseminated by letter to local intelligence agencies, which letter should contain the following statements:

This report being furnished you does not reflect the results of a full investigation of this organization but only information obtained through limited inquiries being made to ascertain the influence, if any, in this organization of Ku Klux Klan members or others who advocate repressive tactics against minorities; to determine whether its programs and activities bring it within purview of Executive Order 10450; and to develop data regarding this group's potential for violence.

*Letter sent 11/4/55 CFW*  
2cc - Baltimore  
2cc - Birmingham  
2cc - Charlotte  
2cc - Dallas  
2cc - Houston  
2cc - Kansas City  
2cc - Knoxville  
2cc - Little Rock

2cc - Memphis  
2cc - Miami  
2cc - Mobile  
2cc - New Orleans  
2cc - Norfolk  
2cc - Pittsburgh  
2cc - Richmond  
2cc - St. Louis  
2cc - Savannah

ORIGINAL ON DUPLIMAT

Enclosure to memo from Belmont to Boardman dated 11/1/55, CFW:gft.

CFW:gft  
(38)

COMM - FBI  
NOV 4 1955  
MAILED 30

*PS*  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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105-34237-  
NOV 7 1955

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NOV 4 10 42 AM '55

52080

Letter to SAC, Atlanta

In the event an investigation of this organization is initiated as a result of data obtained through inquiries being conducted, you will be furnished the results of the investigation and at that time informed that an investigation rather than an inquiry is being conducted.

The information being furnished you concerning this organization is for your confidential use and should not be disseminated outside your agency.

In the event copies of reports on organizations active within the territory covered by your office have been disseminated previously to local intelligence agencies, you are instructed to immediately direct letters to the agencies to which copies were disseminated making reference to the reports previously furnished. These letters should contain the above statements.



SAC, New Orleans

November 2, 1955

Director, FBI

71942  
**ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X**

52078  
G.I.R.-1

Reurlet dated October 20, 1955, captioned  
"Citizens Councils of Alabama, Internal Security - X,"  
with which you furnished literature issued by the  
Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi which  
was mailed unsolicited to Special Agent [redacted]  
[redacted] Resident Agent at Meridian, Mississippi.

You are instructed to advise Special Agent  
[redacted] to take no steps to have his name removed from  
the mailing list of this organization. Copies of all  
literature received should be furnished the Bureau  
promptly.

Special Agent [redacted] should also be  
instructed to take no overt action to continue having  
literature mailed to him, such as making payments for  
a subscription. At such time as it appears that Special  
Agent [redacted] name has been removed from the mailing  
list the New Orleans Office should, through a confidential  
mail box or through a reliable source, make arrangements  
to obtain literature issued by this organization. This  
literature should be furnished the Bureau promptly upon  
receipt thereof by your office.

1cc - Memphis (For Information)

COMM - FBI

NOV 2 1955  
MAILED 20

NOTE ON YELLOW: Incoming letter from New Orleans was  
incorrectly captioned inasmuch as none of the literature  
enclosed was furnished by the Citizens Councils of  
Alabama.

Attachment memo Belmont to Boardman dated  
11/1/55, same caption, CFW:bas.

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CFW:hif  
(8)

RECORDED - 84

105-34237

NOV 7 1955

62 NOV 10 1955

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 11-2-55

FROM : SAC, Memphis

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
IS - X

This is to advise that on October 28, 1955, the Tupelo Daily Journal, Tupelo, Mississippi, published an article entitled, "Council Votes to Incorporate, Paid Membership of 60 Men is Announced."

This article stated that about seventy Tupelo men had attended the second meeting of the Lee County Citizens Council and voted Thursday night, October 27, 1955, to incorporate the Council as a non-profit organization aimed at maintaining white supremacy in the South. The election of permanent officers was delayed until the charter of incorporation is received. A temporary committee will continue to direct the affairs of the Council until its formal incorporation.

It was estimated at the meeting held at the Lee County Court House that about sixty Tupelo and Lee County men have become paid up members of the Council since its beginning last week. E. D. GREAVES of Jackson, Mississippi, a Director of the Jackson Citizens Council was speaker at the Thursday night meeting. Mr. GREAVES stated there are three doctrines which should prevail in the nation's thinking today, (1) inferiority of the Negro race; (2) an all white government; (3) State's rights. According to GREAVES, these doctrines are sound. GREAVES further said that because they "rest on great truths of nature and the findings of science" they are sound.

TILLMAN R. HEWING served as temporary chairman of the Council for the Thursday night meeting. Other members of a steering committee preparing for a permanent organization are R. B. KIRKSEY, JAMES A. BALLARD, Alderman-at-Large Dr. A. N. WILSON, and JOHN SHANDS. The next Council meeting was scheduled for November 14, 1955.

For the information of the Bureau, R. B. KIRKSEY is owner and manager of a furniture store in Tupelo, Mississippi, JAMES A. BALLARD is Mayor of Tupelo, Dr. A. N. WILSON is an Optometrist who is a member of the Board of Aldermen, and JOHN SHANDS is an attorney [redacted] for Tupelo, Mississippi.

SHA:BN

(3)

REGISTERED MAIL

RECORDED - 64  
INDEXED - 64

21 NOV 7 1955

COPIES DESTROYED

479 APR 27 1972

ME Letter to Director, 11-2-55

On the morning of October 29, 1955, Special Agent SAM H. ALLEN, JR., while at the Police Department, Tupelo, Mississippi, was advised by ROBERT MANAGHAN, Chief of Police, and MITCHELL GRISSOM, Sheriff, that both are members of the Citizens Council, Tupelo, Mississippi.

Any further developments concerning the Citizens Council at Tupelo, Mississippi will be promptly reported to the Bureau.

b6  
b7C

SAC, Memphis

November 15, 1955

RECORDED

105-34237-64

Director, FBI

INDEXED - PW  
7/11

~~LEE COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL~~  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/81 BY 60207NLSK/

914421

Lsh

Reference is made to your letter dated November 2, 1955, advising that an article appeared in the October 28, 1955, issue of the "Tupelo Daily Journal," Tupelo, Mississippi, stating that members of the Lee County Citizens Council voted on October 27, 1955, to incorporate the Council as a nonprofit organization aimed at maintaining white supremacy in the South.

You are instructed to advise the Bureau if the Lee County Citizens Council is a separate and distinct organization or is affiliated with the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi. If the latter is true, you should report pertinent information concerning this organization in connection with the activities of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

If the Lee County Citizens Council is not affiliated with the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, you should open a separate case on the group and initiate inquiries in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in SAC Letter 55-66 dated October 25, 1955.

cc - Bufile 105-34237

MJM:dlf  
(5)

RECORDED 46 NOV 29 1955

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COMM - FBI

DEC 8 1955

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *11-3-55*DATE: November 1,  
1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

1-Mr. Boardman  
1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Central Research  
Section  
1-SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
BUFILE 105-34237

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Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/17/01 BY 60241 NLS/KJL/47  
918421

By letter 10-20-55, attached, captioned "Citizens Councils of Alabama, IS-X," New Orleans furnished literature published by the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, which material was mailed to  Resident Agent at Meridian, Mississippi. SA  advised he has no idea how his name was placed on the mailing list of this organization. It is possible his name was obtained from mailing list of a company or store and that his connection with Bureau is not known to captioned organization.

As you have been informed previously the Bureau at the suggestion of the Department is conducting an inquiry concerning captioned organization to determine whether its program and activity are such that it would fall under the provisions of Executive Order 10450. This organization was formed in opposition to Supreme Court decision of 5-11-54 re integration of Negroes and whites in public schools.

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed no steps should be taken to have SA  name removed from mailing list inasmuch as aggressive action in this regard might well result in efforts on part of captioned organization to identify this Agent and embarrass him and the Bureau. The literature furnished contains information not previously received by the Bureau and is pertinent to our inquiries relative to captioned organization and similar prosegregation groups. It is believed desirable that SA  continue to receive this literature and make same available to the Bureau; however, instructions should be issued that he should take no overt steps to continue receiving same, such as submitting money for subscription. At such time as SA  name is removed from the mailing list because of failure to subscribe to this literature New Orleans should take steps to obtain literature published through a confidential mail box or reliable source.

RECORDED-11  
NOV 8 1955

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached a letter to the New Orleans Office so instructing. If you agree it is recommended that this letter be sent. Photostats of literature being furnished to Department by attached letter.

Enclosure *16 1955*  
CFW:bas  
(5)

PERS. FILES



November 8, 1955

Airtel

SAC, Little Rock (105-133)

① ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI;  
ROBERT B. PATTERSON; INTERNAL SECURITY - X.

Reurairtel 10/28/55 advising that your office again attempting to contact James D. Johnson.

This matter must be handled without further delay and Johnson should be contacted and requested to advise whether or not he is going to make the record available.

Handle and submit results to Bureau not later than 11/15/55.

Hoover

105-34237

WMA:ecb  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60311 MLE/LLH

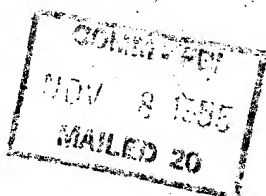
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EX-125

NOV 8 1955

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62 NOV 16 1955

LB

RK

WMA

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

November 9, 1955

Director, FBI

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS  
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI File 105-34237

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/17/80 BY 60267 MLE/EO/LH

918421

Reference is made to the reports of Special Agent George A. Everett dated February 16, 1955, and May 23, 1955, both at Memphis, Tennessee, and the reports of Special Agent Laurence J. Frank, Jr., dated February 18, 1955, May 9, 1955, July 28, 1955, and October 7, 1955, all at New Orleans, Louisiana, concerning the captioned organization copies of which were furnished you previously.

The reports furnished you do not reflect the results of a full investigation of this organization but only information obtained through limited inquiries being made to ascertain the influence, if any, in this organization of Ku Klux Klan members or others who advocate repressive tactics against minorities; to determine whether its programs and activities bring it within purview of Executive Order 10450 and to develop data regarding this group's potential for violence.

In the event an investigation of this organization is initiated as a result of data obtained through inquiries being conducted you will be furnished the results of the investigation and at that time informed that an investigation rather than an inquiry is being conducted.

CFW:sad  
(4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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105-34237

16 NOV 1955

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COMM - FBI

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CFW

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *file*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: WILLIAM J. SIMMONS  
734 Fairview Street  
Jackson, Mississippi  
THE CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

DATE: November 9, 1955

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/7/01 BY 60267 NLS  
918421 CPL/SH

Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), telephone NATIONAL 8-5794, called me on November 9, 1955, to advise that one of their local representatives, a Francis Pohlhaus, had written the Director to the effect that William J. Simmons was reported to be close to the Nazis in Europe and was discharged from the Navy as a security risk. The Director replied stating that we were checking on the matter.

*He said*

Mitchell stated that by way of background that several people have told him that William J. Simmons, 734 Fairview Street, Jackson, Mississippi, who is connected with the Citizens Councils of Mississippi, had been discharged from the Navy as a security risk and reportedly had been close to the Nazis; that he had at one time served with the British engineers before the United States went to war. He returned to the United States and entered the Navy at a time when there was a grave need for officer material. He stayed in the Navy for only a short period of time.

Mitchell further stated he was in Mississippi last week, and at the close of a speech he made, he stated that his organization had submitted the name of an individual who was fostering alien doctorates. Five reporters tried to get him to identify the individual, which he declined to do. They all told him they suspected it was Simmons, but just wanted him to say it; however, he would not say. Subsequently, Hodding Carter called and told him the same thing, but he declined to say. Today the Jackson Daily News had the Associated Press check with him as they wanted to expose Simmons; however, Mitchell declined to say anything.

Mitchell stated that it might be helpful if some information could be documented showing Simmons true background. I told Mitchell I was not familiar with Simmons; that I would check although I seriously doubted that we could be of any assistance to him, but after checking I would let him know.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm:jec

105-349-27  
NOV 21 1955

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COPY FILED IN

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols  
RE: WILLIAM J. SIMMONS  
734 Fairview Street  
Jackson, Mississippi  
THE CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

CHECK OF BUREAU FILES:

By letter dated 9-12-55 J. Francis Pohlhaus, Counsel, Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wrote the Director referring to William J. Simmons as related by Clarence Mitchell, above. By letter dated 9-16-55 the Director thanked Pohlhaus for his interest and informed him he had referred his letter concerning Simmons to the Director of Naval Intelligence. (105-34237-33) The Director did not, as stated by Mitchell, advise Pohlhaus we were "checking on the matter."

Under the character "Internal Security - G" we investigated William James Simmons in mid 1942. He came to our attention when [redacted] a psychiatrist at Charity Hospital, New Orleans, Louisiana, on May 6, 1942, requested to talk to FBI Agents about Simmons, a patient of his. The Doctor said Simmons had been employed by the British Royal Engineers at Trinidad but he came involved with the wife of a naval officer who later committed suicide. Simmons left Trinidad, attempted to join the Canadian Military Intelligence Staff and, failing this, also sought work unsuccessfully with G-2 and ONI in Washington, D. C. [redacted] said Simmons ridiculed the allied intelligence services and praised the German Gestapo. He said further Simmons was a psychopathic case, could become a fanatic to further any cause in which he believed. Simmons father, said [redacted] is a wealthy Jackson, Mississippi, businessman, D. C. Simmons, and [redacted]

We investigated Simmons who was born July 7, 1916, at Jackson, Mississippi. He graduated with honors from Mississippi College in 1937 and was an assistant Professor in his senior year in mathematics and French. The summer of 1937 he travelled in England, Scotland and France and a year later to Honduras and Nicaragua. He later studied in France, travelled extensively abroad and then became connected with the British in Trinidad as Chief Draftsman. He was registered with Local Board #4, Hinds County, Jackson, Mississippi. On June 5, 1942, he enlisted in the U. S. Navy at Jackson, Mississippi, and we therefore discontinued our investigation but furnished copies of the one investigative report to Office of Naval Intelligence. Our investigation failed to reflect any activity on the part of Simmons against the best interests of this country. (100-104605)

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols  
RE: WILLIAM J. SIMMONS  
734 Fairview Street  
Jackson, Mississippi  
THE CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

We have conducted no investigation of Simmons subsequent to 1942 and Bureau files contain no reference to him subsequent to 1942.

RECOMMENDATION:

Since we have not thoroughly investigated Simmons and have conducted no investigation whatever on him since 13 years ago at which time no public source information was developed, we should inform Mitchell we cannot help him.

1. Right  
2. What have we done re letter of Sept 7<sup>12</sup>, 1955, from Pahlhove in answer to which we stated "we were checking on the matter other than refusing A.D.O. W.L." It is possible the Citizens Councils of Miss may be considered by A.G. Subversives

Memorandum  
Brennan to  
Boardman  
11-16-55  
LBN



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: November 11, 1955

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-19339)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X.ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/81 BY 65027 NLS/EP/KM

915421

Re Bureau letter dated October 28, 1955.

CARROLL COUNTY, MARYLAND

The "Frederick News", Frederick, Maryland newspaper, September 7, 1955, contained an article that over 250 New Windsor and Union Bridge residents met on September 7, 1955 to protest the admission of Negro students to elementary and high schools in those two towns.

This meeting was reported as orderly and restrained and the Principal of Elmer Wolfe High School, Carroll County, observed that the incident apparently involved only local families and not groups officially organized to fight school segregation.

However the "Frederick Post" newspaper, September 9, 1955, revealed that the Maryland Petition Committee (MPC) called a meeting for September 8, 1955 at the Elmer Wolfe High School which was attended by approximately 300 persons and at which meeting ROBERT FURNISS, an Attorney, and ROBERT WISEMAN, Second Vice President and Director of the MPC, spoke on how to become a member of the MPC.

On September 12, 1955 the "Frederick News" reported that attendance at Union Bridge Schools was "normal" but at New Windsor 11 students were kept out of schools because of integration. There were no reported disturbances of any kind at these schools.

On September 29, 1955 [redacted] Radio Station WTTR, Westminster, Maryland, advised he received information that the

GOS:vlr  
(3)

REGISTERED MAIL

RECORDED - 26

INDEXED - 26

EX - 107

2 NOV 14 1955

DEC 8 1955

INT. SEC.

L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

people of the New Windsor and Union Bridge areas planned to get the "Maryland Petition" group to help them with their integration problem. [ ] said he was informed that the group favors equal but separate schools and that they were interested in buying advertising time from the radio station.

b6  
b7C

"The Sun", a Baltimore newspaper, October 14, 1955 reported that the Carroll County Chapter of the Maryland Petition Committee called a meeting October 13, 1955 "to organize the parents of white students" in Carroll County where segregation ended this fall.

This newspaper reported that ROBERT FURNISS, Attorney for the MPC, "told approximately 125 persons present that the committee intends to circulate 50,000 leaflets throughout the state calling for political action".

This news article reported that school officials said there were no pupils now being kept out of school to protest integration.

There is no information to indicate that the MPC carried out its intended plan to circulate leaflets throughout the state calling for political action.

#### BALTIMORE COUNTY, MARYLAND

"The Sun" newspaper, Baltimore, September 16, 1955, contained a report of the attempt by a delegation of persons to meet privately with the Baltimore County Board of Education on September 15, 1955 to protest integration in the Hereford School District. This protest was initiated as the result of the demonstration at the Hereford School on opening day when an unreported number of parents withdrew their children from the school after 29 Negro pupils arrived on school busses and entered the school.

The Baltimore County Board of Education declined to meet privately with the protestants and a meeting was arranged for October 13, 1955.

"The Sun", October 14, 1955, reported that on October 13, 1955 parents protesting integration at the Hereford School stood silent "as ROBERT FURNISS, Rockville Lawyer and Counsel for the Maryland Petition Committee delivered their ultimatum.

L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

FURNISS said that if an unfavorable reply was given by the Board on integration, 10,000 to 15,000 signatures would be obtained demanding the Board's resignation.

FURNISS claimed that integration "will lead to incidents .... injuries and mental injuries".

FURNISS also declared that when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed suit "the Board falls over backwards" and that if the NAACP threatens to file suit, "we will threaten to file suit too. We will fight fire with fire."

There is no formal organization of these individuals protesting integration in the Hereford School District; however, records of the Baltimore County Police Department, Towson, Maryland, reflect that the Maryland Petition Committee, Inc. of Jessups, Maryland held a meeting at Hereford, Maryland on August 31, 1955 at which meeting ROBERT FURNISS was described as Legal Counsel for the MPC and at which meeting those in attendance were urged to join the MPC.

Since this meeting of the MPC in Hereford, Maryland occurred prior to the opening of the Hereford School and prior to the protests of parents against integration, it would appear that the MPC was successful in generating activity in an attempt to perpetuate segregation in this area.

MARYLAND PETITION COMMITTEE, INC. (MPC)

The Maryland Petition Committee, Inc. was incorporated in Maryland September 21, 1954, the nature of business being Public Relations, the principal office being Jessups, Maryland.

The recorded purpose of this organization is to "encourage and promote racially separate schools in Maryland, to foster public opinion and idealism for states rights .... to gather and disseminate information and otherwise educate the people of Maryland".

L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

The principal activity of the MPC appears to be the circulation of petitions to obtain signatures of voters in Maryland to protest the ruling of the United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 against race segregation, as an evasion of individual rights under sovereign states.

A mimeographed MPC letter furnished this office July 15, 1954 indicates that the strategy of this organization is to form central committees in the counties of Maryland, preferably in its major town or city and after the formation of a central committee, the MPC will furnish a supply of "state-wide petition forms" to be completed with signatures of the county residents.

These petitions request the State of Maryland to make provisions for the establishment of a system of private schools for ~~any~~ groups which may wish to continue the existence of its own race and it is to be noted that one of these petitions contains a statement that "by affixing our signatures, we do witness that we have never, nor do we intend to ever become a member of any organization advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States of America by force or violence."

As reported above officials of the MPC seized the initiative in Baltimore and Carroll Counties to organize meetings protesting integration in the schools of these counties and conducted a campaign for increased membership in the MPC. There was no reported activity by the MPC in other Maryland counties. In addition to the aforementioned activity of the MPC, this organization was represented at the 1955 session of the Maryland Legislature by three persons, among them ROBERT FURNISS, Attorney, who were engaged by the MPC upon the subjects of education and bills relating to integration in public schools.

There were no reports or indications of disturbances or violence in the activity of the MPC in the school integration issue in Carroll or Baltimore Counties and no allegations of Civil Rights violations.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF WHITE PEOPLE, INC. (NAAWP)

L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

The National Association for the Advancement of White People, Inc. was incorporated in the State of Delaware December 14, 1953. The stated nature of the corporation's business is the "advancement of white people" and "saving America".

The Certificate of Incorporation of the NAAWP indicates the objects and purposes of the NAAWP is to "maintain all social customs now enjoyed and practices by the residents of the United States of America .... to protect areas occupied by certain races against encroachment on the part of other races .... to insure stable property values and to promote proper relationships among races".

BRYANT W. BOWLES, Founder and President of the NAAWP, has spear-headed this organization in its drive to prevent integration in Delaware schools and to maintain segregation of races. BOWLES and the NAAWP have organized and sponsored numerous pro-segregation mass meetings in and around Milford and Dover, Delaware since approximately September, 1954 with estimated attendance reported at some meetings from 2,500 to 3,000 persons.

BOWLES has not limited his activity on behalf of the NAAWP to Delaware but has been reported to have spoken before NAAWP groups in Tavares, Florida (November 17, 1954), Wildwood, Florida (December 28, 1954), Charlotte, North Carolina (June 24, 1955), Manning, South Carolina (August 27, 1955) and has made two radio talks over Station WPIK, Alexandria, Virginia (Fall, 1954).

In his Manning, South Carolina speech on August 27, 1955, a Klan Rally at which four robed Klan members were on the platform, BOWLES was reported to have invited the Ku Klux Klan to organize in Delaware and Maryland. However, there is no indication of a Klan organization in Delaware and Maryland to date.

The "Delaware State News", Dover, Delaware, September 28, 1954, contained an article quoting an excerpt from a speech by BOWLES, September 27, 1954, Lincoln Crossroads, Delaware, in which BOWLES stated "my daughter will never attend a school with Negroes as long as there is breath in my body and gunpowder will burn".



L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

On October 25, 1954 BOWLES had a scuffle with a Negro mailman concerning the handling of NAAWP mail and on November 1, 1954, in the United States Municipal Court, Washington, D. C., BOWLES pleaded not guilty to an assault charge arising over the scuffle. On May 10, 1955 BOWLES was acquitted of this assault charge after a trial by jury.

Legal action by the State of Delaware to revoke the charter of the NAAWP for abuse and misuse of corporate powers was instituted October 5, 1954 but a continuance status on this matter was requested by the State of Delaware May 16, 1955.

BOWLES was charged and found guilty in the Court of Common Pleas, Dover, Delaware April 6, 1955 of a violation of school attendance laws and unlawfully interfering with the orderly administration of the school system in Delaware but on appeal, a Superior Court Jury acquitted BOWLES of these charges on July 26, 1955.

Although mass meetings of the NAAWP are being held with less frequency at present than they were in the Fall of 1954 and early 1955, it appears that the aims and objectives of the NAAWP continue to be those stated by BOWLES in an interview reported by the "Wilmington Evening Journal", Wilmington, Delaware September 29, 1954 in which BOWLES outlined five objectives of the NAAWP as follows:

- "1. To "publicize to the white people what's going on in this integration business. Most people really don't know".
2. Complete segregation of races. He said there are really only 100,000 Americans.
3. To see public schools run by the public, not by boards or by the Supreme Court.
4. States' rights.
5. The organization is "against legislation by the Supreme Court".

L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Other than the incidents concerning BOWLES mentioned above, there has been no reported disturbances or violence connected with the mass meetings of the NAAWP and no allegations of Civil Rights violations against any individuals.

DOVER CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR  
WHITE SCHOOLS (DCCWS)

On August 31, 1955 the "Wilmington Morning News" newspaper, Wilmington, Delaware, reported that the Dover Citizens Committee for White Schools was organized in Dover, Delaware on August 29, 1955 to oppose integration in Dover, Delaware.

Inquiry concerning the DCCWS revealed that this organizational name was used by a group of individuals in the vicinity of Dover, Delaware who called a closed meeting with BRYANT W. BOWLES, President of the NAAWP on August 29, 1955 in order to form a Dover, Delaware chapter of the NAAWP.

Since the date of the formation of the DCCWS, there has been no reported activity on the part of this organization.

BETTER DORCHESTER SCHOOLS, INC. (BDS)

Better Dorchester Schools, Inc. was incorporated in the State of Maryland on August 29, 1955.

The stated purpose, among others, for which the corporation is formed is to promote and encourage the development of the public school system of Dorchester County, Maryland and the best interests of its students and teachers, to promote and encourage settlement of school controversies and misunderstandings and to assert a wholesome influence on the education of the children of Dorchester County.

At the initial meeting of this organization on September 15, 1955 it was reported that there were 1,962 paid up members, with a membership goal of 7,000 persons.

L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Two resolutions were passed at this meeting, one censuring the Dorchester County Board of Education for "precipitously ordering integration of Dorchester County teachers after its Citizens Committee had recommended only that the problem be studied", the other requesting the County legislators to provide funds to put all colored schools in the county in "first class condition".

The newly formed organization has reportedly held only three meetings which were orderly and restrained for the apparent purpose of delaying integration in Dorchester County Schools.

CHRISTIAN AMERICANS' SEGREGATION  
ASSOCIATION, INC. (CASA)

The Christian Americans' Segregation Association was organized in Selbyville, Delaware and incorporated in the State of Delaware on March 21, 1955.

In an interview on May 6, 1955, Reverend MANAEN F. WARRINGTON, Selbyville, stated he formed the CASA as a religious organization to teach and uphold segregation. WARRINGTON enumerated what he termed "10 Commandments for Survival of the White Race", among them being the duty of CASA to:

".....

"5. .... to elect righteous men in State and Federal Government who will work for advancement of all races WITHIN THEIR OWN BOUNDS, while keeping in mind that God chose the white race for rulers, judges and the leaders of world Governments.

"6. .... to secure proper support to abolish the National Association for Advancement of Colored Peoples, because it is Un-Christian and retards the progress of the Negro race, promoting hatred and Communism.

.....

"8. .... To oppose any encroachment upon the rights of the white race to pick its own associates by segregation from other races in social, religious or educational or recreational ways. To work for reversal of the Supreme Court's decision for integration

L/DIRECTOR

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

"that it handed down May 17, 1954, and dismissal of all the  
Judges who did it."

MANAEN F.

*Former the Christian American  
Association Inc.*

~~WARRINGTON~~ stated he was formerly associated with the National  
Association for the Advancement of White People in the Fall of  
1954 and was President of the Delaware Chapter of the NAAWP  
but that he withdrew from the NAAWP shortly after joining  
because of his disapproval of BOWLES' conduct and arrest record. *Del.*

In this interview WARRINGTON stated that CASA does not advocate  
violence in any form but he commented that he does not intend  
to lose ground in his fight for continued segregation. He said  
the only reason he would resort to violence would be in self-  
defense and to keep from being "pushed backward". WARRINGTON  
made no further comments and the significance of this statement  
is not known.

Meetings of CASA, held on May 8, 1955 and May 15, 1955 at the  
Harrington Airport, Delaware, attended by individuals who came  
in about 40 to 50 cars, were reported to be religious in  
nature with WARRINGTON and a guest minister making the main  
religious segregation speeches. It was reported that a plea  
for donations was made but the response to this plea was poor  
and it appeared that WARRINGTON received very little support  
at these meetings.

At present the activities of WARRINGTON and CASA are orderly in  
nature and there does not appear to be any outside influence  
being asserted upon this organization.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11-10-55

FROM : SAC, DALLAS (105-484)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES  
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
IS - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/87 BY 362NLS/SP

914 421

Lsh

Re Bulet to Atlanta, 10-28-55.

The Dallas Division is comprised of the northern half of the state of Texas. Approximately 90 percent of the Negroes in Texas live in the eastern half of the state. In the western half of the state many counties have no Negroes and other counties only a small percentage of Negroes.

Desegregation in the public schools in West Texas is proceeding slowly and in an orderly fashion. There have been no reported racial incidents in the western half of Texas. The only known organizations in this division formed for the purpose of perpetuating racial segregation are the Texas Citizens Councils. These councils have been formed in Dallas, Ft. Worth, Kilgore, Gilmer and Marshall, Texas.

On 8-15-55 ROSS CARLTON, Dallas attorney and Chairman of the Texas Citizens Council of Dallas, brought suit in the Howard County, Texas District Court on behalf of the Texas Citizens Council and four Howard County citizens to enjoin the Big Spring Independent School District from carrying out its order to integrate the white and colored races in the public schools. It is to be noted that on 8-9-55 this integration order was issued by the Big Spring Independent School District. This suit asked that State Controller ROBERT CALVERT and Texas Education Commissioner J. W. EDGAR be enjoined from allocating state school funds to districts which have desegregation. This petition cited state laws forbidding use of state monies in any school attended by whites and Negroes.

District Judge CHARLES SULLIVAN ruled in favor of the Big Spring Independent School District in order that integration of whites and Negroes might proceed. This case was immediately appealed to the Texas Supreme Court which ruled against the plaintiffs and the Texas Citizens Council.

JPH:dsb

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DL 105-484

Informants of the Dallas office report aside from one inflammatory speech given by Dr. B. E. MASTERS, President Emeritus, Kilgore Junior College, Kilgore, Texas, that meetings of the Dallas Chapter of the Texas Citizens Council have been orderly and there have been no indications of any impending use of violence on the part of the Dallas Chapter of the Texas Citizens Council.

There have been no indications that the Ku Klux Klan is presently active in the Dallas Division. Local and state authorities who conduct internal security type investigations have advised that they have no knowledge of any Ku Klux Klan activities in this division.

The only known organization in this division formed for the purpose of dissolving racial segregation is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP is active in both Dallas and Ft. Worth, Texas.

Informants of the Dallas office have advised that the Dallas and Ft. Worth chapters of the NAACP are presently infiltrated by persons known to them to be members of the Communist Party (CP). [redacted] Chairman, District Board, CP District 23, leader of the CP in Dallas; and [redacted] member of the District Board, CP District 23, and leader of the CP in Ft. Worth, Texas, have both indicated a desire to know about the activities of the NAACP. One Dallas CP member in March 1955 was made captain of a membership team in an NAACP membership drive.

On 10-17-55 the Youth Group of the NAACP picketed the State Fair of Texas, Dallas, Texas, on Negro Achievement Day. These pickets were protesting segregation as practiced at the State Fair of Texas. It is to be noted that Negro Achievement Day is a day set aside for Negroes, at which time the entire facilities of the State Fair of Texas are made available to Negroes. It is to be further noted that segregation is practiced on all other days during the State Fair of Texas. Aside from peaceful picketing on the part of the Youth Group of the NAACP, no incidents were reported on this date. It should be noted that confidential informants of this office have advised that [redacted] was present at the time of this picketing as an observer, but there were no known CP members taking part in this picketing.

DL 105-484

On 10-21-55 on the day set aside at the State Fair of Texas as High School Day, over 1,000 Negro high school students in Dallas, Texas did not attend high school. It is to be noted that on High School Day, the white high school students are given the day off to attend the State Fair. Negro students are not allowed a day off from school on this day, but are given a day off from school on Negro Achievement Day. Although a large number of Negro high school students attended the State Fair on this date, there were no incidents reported.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

11/10/55

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (105-122)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60247NLS  
918421 EPL/44

ReBulet to Atlanta 11/1/55.

The Knoxville Office is not in receipt of any pertinent information relative to any acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution which may have been committed by individuals who are members of or connected with any pro-segregation organizations.

Pursuant to Bureau instructions if such acts are committed by individuals which can be connected with these organizations, such acts will be included in reports submitted on the organizations.

TAS:ldh

(3)

Registered Mail

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105-34237-17

EX-121

1 NOV 14 1955

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/10/55

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (105-

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENT  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/19/07 BY 40247ML/SZP/LH  
918421

Rebulet 11/1/55.

In connection with investigations conducted by this office relative to the ~~Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties~~ and the organization known as ~~Virginia League Incorporated~~, aka ~~Virginia League~~, which were formed in opposition to integration of Negroes and whites in public schools, this is to advise that there has been no information indicating acts of force or violence which were committed by individuals who are members of or connected with these organizations.

This office will be alert to report any acts of force or violence committed by individuals in connection with the captioned subject matter and if any information is received, it will be promptly reported to the Bureau.

CFH/pbw  
REGISTERED MAIL  
(5)cc: RH #105-496  
#105-405

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NOV 23 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/10/55

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (105-122)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/30/01 BY 60267 NLS ZP/LWSUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ReBulet to Atlanta dated October 28, 1955, requesting a summary of the racial situation in the territory covered by this office. This summary is being set forth under headings of the information requested in paragraph 2 of referenced letter.

1. Incidents which have arisen in connection with the problem of segregation:

On July 22, 1955, the City School Board of Chattanooga, Tennessee, as reported in news item in Chattanooga Times, 7-23-55, issued a formal statement declaring that it would integrate the schools in Chattanooga in compliance with the Supreme Court decree. It was pointed out that the decision was a unanimous one by the School Board and that a study would be made to effect such integration, but that integration would not be effected immediately.

On 7/27/55, RAYMOND B. WITT, Jr., an attorney and member of the Chattanooga School Board, reported to the Resident Agency at Chattanooga that he had received several local telephone calls of a threatening nature after the School Board's announcement. He advised that he had also received a letter which did not contain a threat but did question him as to whether he would allow his wife to dance with a negro and his children to go to school with negroes.

In the spring of 1955 at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, it was reported that a negro working for the Atomic Energy Commission was moved into Cambridge Hall, a white dormitory for males. It was alleged that after he had moved his clothes and personal effects into the dormitory room but had not occupied the room himself, an unknown person fired a shot through the door of the room. There were no injuries and no arrests were made. It is reported that the negro remained in the dormitory, and no further trouble has been encountered. It was reported that the company holding the contract with AEC for the operation of the dormitories asked to be released from its contract due to integration in the dormitories.

An article appearing in the Knoxville News-Sentinel, Knoxville, Tenn., issue of 11/3/55, reports that approximately a dozen white basket ball players

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(3)  
Registered Mail

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EX-121

105-34237-72

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on the team of the Oak Ridge High School, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, had reported back to the squad after a two-day revolt against racial integration. The article went on to state that the Oak Ridge High School, the State's only integrated school, has 6 negroes and 14 white boys on the basket ball team. It was reported that the white players had stayed away from the practice, complaining that a mixed team "would penalize our schedule". This high school has withdrawn from an invitational tournament to avoid controversy, and the news item reported that some coaches in area schools had reported they would be willing to play a mixed team at Oak Ridge but not on their home courts.

2. Names of organizations formed for the purpose of perpetuating or dissolving segregation and information regarding the potential violence of said groups:

(a) The Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government

In September, 1955, at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, a group calling themselves "Oak Ridgers for Segregation" caused the distribution of circulars asking assistance in attaining bargaining strength to oppose segregation in the local schools and urging that parents keep their children out of school for nine days in protest of the integration. It was reported that picketing would be employed at one of the schools. This organization later changed its name to "The Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government" and is an affiliate of the "Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government" which latter organization has its headquarters at Memphis, Tennessee. There is some indication that the "Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government" is connected with the "Federation for Constitutional Government" with headquarters at New Orleans, Louisiana.

"The Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government" professes to seek their aims through legal means. It is reported that the leader of this organization has made the statement that it is the desire of the membership to accomplish their end through legal means, and it is his desire to avoid any violence or bloodshed. It is to be noted that the organization did not carry out its proposed picketing of Oak Ridge schools which have been integrated. It is to be noted that most of the residents in Oak Ridge are employed by contractors holding Government contracts with the Atomic Energy Commission, and, consequently, many of these residents have been investigated under the AEC clearance procedure. There is no evidence to date that this group might engage in any violence.



KX 105-122

(b) Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation

The address of the above organization is reported to be Post Office Box 3104, Chattanooga, Tennessee. An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 20, 1955, that on [redacted] meeting of Klavern #1, Ku Klux Klan, Chattanooga, he observed pamphlets had been distributed at the meeting concerning this organization. Informant had no knowledge as to the identity of the Klan member making the distribution; however, during the meeting two members urged Klansmen to join the organization, stating that such organization could become much stronger than the Klan because people would not be afraid to join it and this organization would achieve one of the principal aims of the Klan in preventing non-segregation. Informant stated that on 11/1/55 at a KKK meeting it was announced that members were invited to attend an open meeting which was being planned by the "Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation". The literature distributed by this organization proposes "the use of every lawful means to achieve and maintain the objectives set forth above". The objectives referred to are the maintenance of segregation.

There is no information reported to date indicating that this group has engaged or will resort to any violence.

(c) Ku Klux Klan

The above organization has had an active chapter at Chattanooga, Tennessee, which has been functioning for a number of years. This organization has always been a strong proponent for the maintenance of segregation. This chapter at Chattanooga in years past has allegedly engaged in acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution; but within recent years, no acts of violence have been reported. It is alleged that the present leaders do not favor the commission of acts of violence. This organization by reason of its nature has been cited by the Attorney General under Executive Order 10450.

During the past year, Klavern #1 at Chattanooga has held numerous public meetings on which occasions crosses would be burned and speeches made. The speeches usually included a topic dealing with the maintenance of segregation. No acts of violence occurred during any of these meetings, and it is reported that the purpose of the meetings was for publicity in efforts to obtain new members.

This group is comparatively the most active group in the Knoxville Division and its membership has been increasing. Reports received concerning the organization and its activities reflect no plans for any acts of violence by the group, and they purport to advocate legal methods for the maintenance of segregation.

(d) National Citizens Protective Association

This organization has its headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri, and it was reported that in the latter part of 1953 a chapter of this organization was established at LaFollette, Tennessee. Investigation conducted reflected that the LaFollette Chapter was very inactive and that at present time it is dormant. This organization is one which advocates segregation and "white supremacy". Investigation reflected that the LaFollette Chapter never engaged in any acts of force or violence. A member of the LaFollette Chapter reports that the organization was one which had as its purpose the influencing of legislation which would support segregation, and the organization advocated the maintenance of segregation only through legal means.

The LaFollette Chapter has been dormant for many months, and there is no evidence indicating that this group might be considered one of potential violence.

3. Outside influence being asserted on pro-segregation and anti-segregation organizations:

To date, the Knoxville Office has received no information indicating that any outside influence, such as by the Communist Party, is being exerted on any of the organizations within this territory.

The Bureau will be promptly furnished any pertinent information received relative to racial tension in connection with the citizens councils or their opposites. If information is received concerning the formation of any negro organization in opposition to citizens councils, the Bureau will be promptly advised and no investigation nor inquiry will be conducted.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Rosen

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/13/01 BY 60267

DATE: 11/13/55

FROM : F. L. Price

Time of Call: 10:15 AM

SUBJECT: ATTORNEY GENERAL'S  
VISIT TO CHICAGOAssociation of Citizens Councils  
of Mississippi

SAC Hostetter, Chicago, advised that he desired the following information furnished to Mr. Holloman regarding the arrival of the Attorney General in Chicago. The Attorney General arrived in Chicago 11/12/55 in the afternoon on schedule and was taken to the Chicago Club where he was joined by Luther Huston, a newspaper correspondent from Washington, D. C.

Later Mr. Hostetter took the Attorney General from the Chicago Club to the Sheraton Hotel. Carl Mason, Agent of the Chicago Office, waited at the Sheraton Hotel and at 11 PM drove the Attorney General back to the Chicago Club.

Mr. Hostetter mentioned that on arrival at the airport, the Attorney General invited Senator Dirksen, United States Senator from Illinois, to ride in with them from the airport and Dirksen was driven to the La Salle Hotel.

Mr. Hostetter took the Attorney General to the airport on 11/13/55 and he departed on American Airlines plane at 8:15 AM for Washington, D. C.

The Attorney General mentioned three items which may be of interest: (1) The Attorney General stated he was coming back to Chicago on November 27 or 28 to make a speech and would like Mr. Hostetter to meet him. (2) The Attorney General mentioned the TILL case (murder trial in which ~~Ray~~ Bryant and J. W. Milam were acquitted and later the state jury returned a no bill on kidnaping charges). Governor Stratton of Illinois publicized a letter to the Attorney General asking the Department to take action in this case. The Attorney General presumed he would have to give consideration to declaring the "Council" in Mississippi on the Attorney General's list which includes the Klu Klux Klan. Hostetter could not elaborate on the meaning of "Council," but stated he got the impression the Attorney General would not place it on the list at the present time. (3) At the airport the Attorney General mentioned the United Airlines accident (in Colorado). He said he understood we were investigating that accident but he was not certain as to our jurisdiction.

The above is submitted for information purposes. Mr. Holloman was advised at 11:45 a.m., 11/13/55.

cc: 1 - Mr. Nichols  
1 - Mr. Holloman  
1 - Mr. Belmont

EHH:ate (89)

Association of the Citizens' Councils (of Mississippi).

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-94585-111

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

November 10, 1955

Director, FBI

CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF FLORIDA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI FILE 105-34237

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/82 BY 6247NLS/SL  
918421 Lgm

There is being furnished you herewith one copy of the report of Special Agent Leon O. Prior dated October 27, 1955, at Miami, Florida, concerning the captioned organization.

You may desire to review the contents of this report in detail in connection with the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

This report being furnished you does not reflect the results of a full investigation of this organization but only information obtained through limited inquiries being made to ascertain the influence, if any, in this organization of Ku Klux Klan members or others who advocate repressive tactics against minorities; to determine whether its programs and activities bring it within the purview of Executive Order 10450 and to develop data regarding this group's potential for violence.

In the event an investigation of this organization is initiated as a result of data obtained through inquiries being conducted, you will be furnished the results of the investigation and at that time informed that an investigation rather than an inquiry is being conducted.

Enclosure

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MJM:mmmf

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RECEIVED - LOUISIANA

COMM - FBI

NOV 10 1955

MAILED 19

Letter to Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2  
Department of the Army

2cc - Director of Special Investigations BY COUNCIL SERVICE  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Building Tempo 2  
4th and Adams Drive, S. W.  
Washington, D. C.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Letter is being directed to all field offices conducting inquiries re these groups to disseminate copies of initial report on each one of these groups prepared in future by cover letter advising as above and to advise Intelligence Agencies as above on cases in which reports previously disseminated. Report dated May 9, 1955, not disseminated to Intelligence Agencies inasmuch as it contained no information not previously furnished those Agencies.

Liaison Section

105-34237

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/11/01 BY 60247WZ/KSP/KC  
915421

Date: November 9, 1955

To: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2  
Department of the Army  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Chief, Security Division

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS  
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Reference is made to the reports of Special Agent George A. Everett dated February 16, 1955, and May 23, 1955, both at Memphis, Tennessee, and the reports of Special Agent Laurence J. Frank, Jr., dated February 18, 1955, July 28, 1955, and October 7, 1955, all at New Orleans, Louisiana, concerning the captioned organization copies of which were furnished you previously.

BY COURIER SVC.

8 5 NOV 1 0

COMM - FBI

The reports furnished you do not reflect the results of a full investigation of this organization but only information obtained through limited inquiries being made to ascertain the influence, if any, in this organization of Ku Klux Klan members or others who advocate repressive tactics against minorities; to determine whether its programs and activities bring it within purview of Executive Order 10450 and to develop data regarding this group's potential for violence.

MAILED 8

NOV 9 1955

COMM - FBI

In the event an investigation of this organization is initiated as a result of data obtained through inquiries being conducted you will be furnished the results of the investigation and at that time informed that an investigation rather than an inquiry is being conducted.

The information furnished you concerning the captioned organization is for your confidential use and should not be disseminated outside your Agency.

RECORDED-27

Rec - Director of Naval Intelligence

Department of the Navy

The Pentagon

Washington 25, D. C.

105-34237-  
8 NOV 15 1955

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

68 NOV 19 1955 NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/12/55

FROM : SAC, Birmingham (105-241)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X.

ReBulet to Atlanta, 10-28-55.

Up to the present time no incidents have arisen in this division which can be directly connected with the problem of segregation.

The American States Rights Association was organized at Birmingham, Ala. on 2-18-54. 269 Alabama citizens signed Articles of Incorporation, which states that the purpose is "to promote and defend the basic principles of states rights and develop economic, social and civic programs for the betterment of the several states." Although the articles of incorporation make no mention of segregation specifically yet the actual activity of this group such as distributing literature and radio broadcasts advocates the retention of a segregated society. This group has held no public meetings since its inception, as far as can be ascertained, and there is no reason to believe this organization plans on using violence to perpetuate segregation.

The Ku Klux Klan organization is functioning in this area in a small way. There is a small Klavern at Tarrant City, which is an incorporated community adjoining Birmingham. About ten members meet weekly. No acts of violence have been committed as far as is known. E. L. EDWARDS, Imperial Wizard of this organization, with headquarters at Atlanta, Ga. has repeatedly stated opposition to violence.

Information has been received that a White Citizens Council has been organized at Tarrant City, Ala. within the past week. Also at Anniston, Ala. since November 1, 1955, attempts have been made to organize a White Citizens Council. These matters will be followed at Anniston and Tarrant City.

The Alabama Council of Human Relations, a new organization affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, an organization which has been in existence for many years, has been meeting for several weeks in Birmingham. The purpose of ACHR is to dissolve segregation. The only indication of Communist Party interest in this group is that

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EX - 113

7 NOV 16 1955

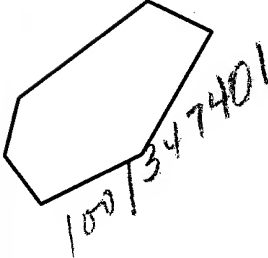
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BH 105-241

 an active member of the Communist Party in BH,  
is taking a rather active interest in this organization.

No information has been received concerning the  
organization of a Negro group formed in opposition to citizens  
councils.

  
100/347401

Office Memorandum

n • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT

To : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/14/55

FROM : SAC, Norfolk (105-242)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
IS - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/0 BY 60267 NLS  
916421 EP/LSH

Rebulet to Atlanta dated 10/28/55.

Synopsis: NAACP in Norfolk area is attempting to bring about complete integration. Integration in schools has not taken place in Norfolk area. Chapters of Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individuals' Liberties have been organized in Norfolk area and the Virginia League, Incorporated has been organized in Newport News, Virginia. Both are opposed to integration. No violence in connection with segregation or non-segregation activities in Norfolk area.

The following is a summary of the racial situation in the Norfolk Division:

Headquarters City Area

This office has not received any information to indicate that any incidents or acts of violence have arisen in connection with the problem of school segregation in this area. The NAACP is active in the Norfolk area.

An article appearing in the Norfolk Virginian Pilot on 7/19/55 reflects that the Norfolk Branch of the NAACP met and announced that they would take the Norfolk City School Board into court as soon as possible. This article further reflects "ROBERTSON told the NAACP members 'We must die fighting for an end to segregation. I am one of those willing to die for it.' The minister said 'I would be willing to die if the stigma and reproach were off my people.' He described the present time in the light of recent decisions, the 'tense moment, the critical moment in the history of our people.'"

A chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individuals' Liberties has been organized in Norfolk and in South Norfolk. To date their activities have consisted of public meetings where prominent individuals spoke against integration in the public schools.

MES:smw  
(3)

RECORDED-27 105-34237-76

INDEXED-27

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NF 105-242

Newport News Resident Agency

In the Newport News Resident Agency area, the NAACP is active and a local organization known as the Virginia League, Incorporated has been organized to preserve segregation in Virginia.

An article appearing in the Newport News Times Herald dated 9/14/55 reflects that upon the opening of school in Newport News ten Negro youngsters, accompanied by a delegation from the NAACP, attempted to enroll in Jefferson School, a white elementary school, but were refused admittance on the basis that it would be in violation of state and local school laws. The NAACP indicated they would take the matter into Federal courts as soon as possible.

Another article in the Newport News Times Herald dated 9/14/55 reflected that as a result of the above the Thomas Jefferson School, the newest school in Newport News system, had been changed to a Negro school by decision of the Newport News School Board.

On 10/18 and 10/30/55, WILLIAM SCOTT STEPHENSON, 927 - 16th Street, Newport News, voluntarily contacted SA [redacted] RA. [redacted]

[redacted] He advised that he is the President of the Virginia League, Incorporated. STEPHENSON stated that the Virginia League, Incorporated is operating only in Virginia, does not advocate any militant approach to preserve segregation in Virginia and in the South. STEPHENSON, as President, publishes the Virginia League Newspaper known as the Virginian. This paper, according to STEPHENSON, is issued monthly, it is prepared by STEPHENSON, has a circulation of about four thousand, and STEPHENSON maintains the mailing list and mails the paper from Newport News to subscribers. [redacted] confidentially advised [redacted]

[redacted] STEPHENSON stated, however, that the articles appearing in the Virginian, which are all opposed to race integration, are written by him. STEPHENSON advised that he is well known in the Newport News - Norfolk area for his stand on the segregation issue. He stated he has not been approached by anyone representing themselves as members of the KKK or anyone who in his opinion might be Klansmen with the object of joining forces in the segregation fight. STEPHENSON

stated that to his knowledge there is no indication of any organization in the pro-segregation group in Virginia that would indicate that acts of force or violence might be committed in furtherance of the aims of the organization.

[redacted] confidentially advised

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[redacted] advised that he feels that the Citizens Councils are non-militant and follow his line of thinking on the segregation matter.

An article appearing in the November 11, 1955 Newport News Daily Press reflects that HARRIS WOFFARD, a former research assistant to CHESTER ROWLES, told a Hampton Institute (a Negro college at Hampton, Virginia) audience that two new "dimensions" presented by the late Mahatma Gandhi might be integrated into the American fight for civil liberties. The article further states "WOFFARD, a twenty-nine year old Washington attorney and author, said it would be difficult to foresee the degree to which a mass of "followers or defenders" of an American, who acted other than from belief, would influence a civil disobedience movement for civil rights."

Woffard's fear of the unpredictability of a mass of people should not create hope for the success of such action, WOFFARD declared.

#### Saffolk Area

Used SA [redacted] on 10/7/55 that there have been no activities of a KKK type organization within the Isle of Wight or Smithfield, Virginia area for approximately ten years. No information has been received from other sources to indicate any activity of the KKK or of Klan type organizations in this area for several years. This office has not received any information regarding incidents which have arisen in connection with the problem of segregation in this area.

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NF 105-242

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There are branches of the NAACP in this area and information has recently been received indicating that the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individuals' Liberties have been organizing in this area.

Chief of Police W. L. BURROW, NA, Franklin, Virginia, advised SA [ ] on 11/8/55, that one of the proposals being advanced to handle the segregation problem in Franklin and Southampton County, Virginia, was for a group of white citizens to organize and to purchase the educational plants from the State of Virginia for a nominal sum and then for this same group to operate the schools on a private, segregated basis for whites only.



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: November 14, 1955

FROM : SAC, SAVANNAH (105-155)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/99 BY 60217NLS/LLH

918421

A summary of the racial situation within the Savannah territory, which comprises the Eastern District of South Carolina and the Southern District of Georgia, has been prepared pursuant to Bulet to Atlanta dated 10/28/55, with copies to other offices including Savannah, and two copies of this summary are attached hereto for the Bureau. One copy each is being furnished to Atlanta and Charlotte as enclosures to their copies of this communication.

This summary indicates the likelihood that national headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Citizens Council, originally organized at Indianola, Miss., on 7/11/54, have influenced the local NAACP and Citizens Councils within the state of South Carolina. Beyond this there seems no indication of outside influence being exerted in the situation, and specifically there has been no indication of influence having been exerted or attempted by the Communist Party.

Any comment as to the potential for violence inherent in the racial situation now existing would of course be speculative. There is no doubt that such potential exists even though there are restraining factors present.

As an indication of local feeling, in Bennettsville, S. C., which feeling can logically be assumed to exist elsewhere, it is noted that Chief of Police FLOYD E. DAVIS (NA) of Bennettsville, advised SA [redacted] of this office on 11/1/55, there had been a noticeable increase in racial tension in the Bennettsville area during the two preceding weeks. Chief DAVIS advised there had not been any such tension before the middle of September. No Citizens Council or similar organization exists in the Bennettsville area. Specifically Chief DAVIS pointed out there had been numerous incidents reported concerning Negroes whistling at white girls on the streets and telephoning white girls to ask for dates. No such callers have been identified, but because of these incidents Chief DAVIS declared tension has increased and he would not be surprised to be confronted with a sudden act of violence.

JDP:ant

(5)

ENCLOSURES (2)

ENCL

RECORDED - 97  
EX-118

INDEXED - 97

8 NOV 16 1955

cc: Atlanta (Info.) (Encl. 1)  
Charlotte (Info.) (Encl. 1)

71 DEC 9 1955

INT

Director, FBI (105-34237)

Savannah, Ga.  
November 14, 1955

Re: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

The Bureau will continue to be kept advised regarding the racial situation in this territory.

SUMMARY OF RACIAL SITUATION IN SAVANNAH TERRITORY,  
COMPRISING EASTERN DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA  
AND SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA

November 14, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60267NLS

1. ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN SEGREGATION MATTERS

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The two principal organizations presently active in segregation matters within South Carolina are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Citizens Councils comprised of white people. The NAACP has been organized and active on a state and local basis in South Carolina for some years. The Citizens Councils began organizing in this state during the latter part of the summer of 1955, and by the end of September, 24 of these councils had been organized. During the month of October, 15 additional Citizens Councils came into existence in South Carolina. Generally these councils have as their declared purpose the combatting by all legal means the integration of negro and white schools in that state. These councils have attacked the NAACP local chapters, such having been the instruments through which integration petitions have been filed with various school boards. The NAACP, on the other hand, has attacked formation of the Citizens Councils as being in opposition to the Supreme Court ruling that segregation is unconstitutional. The Citizens Councils are more numerous in those areas where the number of negroes exceeds the number of white inhabitants, and overflow crowds have attended the meetings. These meetings have been widely publicized, and speakers and officers are for the most part men of prominence in business life, the professions, and politics. Ministers of various denominations and Mayors of some of the towns are participating in the programs. Members are being solicited through public advertising, and a membership fee of \$2.00 each has been set. Employees of at least one municipal government (Orangeburg) have had their affiliation publicly sanctioned by the Mayor and City Council. Various organizations previously formed, notably local States Rights groups, have dissolved and affiliated with the Citizens Councils. A moving factor and frequent speaker at various meetings has been S. E. ROGERS, Attorney of Summerton, S. C., who represented Clarendon County in the school segregation suit which resulted in the Supreme Court decision against segregation of May 17, 1954.

Miscellaneous separate organizations of white and negro citizens include the following:

WHITE:

A group of 100 parents of white children attending Lemira School in Sumter County, S. C., formed an un-named organization during September 1955, to resist efforts at integration of this school.

105-34237-77  
ENCLOSURE

An organization known as the Pond Hollow Segregation Club has been organized at a small community near Darlington, S. C., to "work towards the preservation of Christianity, segregation, states' rights and individual liberties".

A publication known as "The Field" at Conway, S. C., is sponsoring an organization listed as "Council of Constructive Citizens", in which prospective members pledge themselves as being for segregation in the public schools. Each member by petition asks that his name be added to a list to be submitted to the South Carolina Legislature requesting legal and peaceful means to insure continued segregation. This organization has no meetings. Petitions for membership are addressed to the Editor of "The Field".

Representatives of Citizens Councils throughout South Carolina met in Columbia, S. C., on October 10, 1955 and formed a state-wide association of Citizens Councils.

The steering committee of the "Committee of 52" which has circulated a resolution calling for preservation of constitutional government and racial segregation met with these representatives of Citizens Councils and pledged support within the framework of their resolution. This resolution will ultimately urge the South Carolina General Assembly to take such steps as may be necessary or desirable to interpose the sovereignty of the state of South Carolina between federal courts and local school officials with respect to any efforts of the courts to usurp state authority in the matter of public education. The 52 persons who originally signed this resolution reside at various places throughout South Carolina and perusal of this list indicates many of them are individuals of prominence, for example: One is RANSOME J. WILLIAMS of Myrtle Beach, a former Governor of South Carolina, and another is B. M. EDWARDS of Columbia, President of the Citizens and Southern National Bank of South Carolina.

An organization known as "American Educators" was chartered recently at Hartsville, S. C., and has been outspoken in supporting continued segregation in the schools of South Carolina.

A group known as States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc., has been formed at Augusta, Ga., with approximately 100 members. The purpose of this organization whose officers and executives are for the most part prominent citizens, is to maintain segregation and to oppose all organizations which endeavor to destroy segregation.

NEGRO:

An organization known as Lincoln Emancipation Clubs, Inc., of Columbia, S. C., has recently circulated brochures telling negro citizens how "the economic squeeze can be operated from both ends".

A weekly publication known as "The South Carolina Independent" came into existence in Columbia, S. C. late in the summer of 1955. According to a letter dated October 15, 1955 by Mrs. ~~ANDREW W. SIMKINS~~ who has offered her assistance to Publisher ~~WILSON MILES~~, *The South Carolina Independent* this tabloid with further encouragement and cooperation will become "the militant weekly newspaper so many have been persistently begging for during the last fourteen months".

*NATIONAL Association for the Advancement of Colored People*

Clarendon County, S. C. Chapter of the NAACP and three other individuals have filed a petition for incorporation of the "State Negro Farmers Association". Reported purpose of this corporation is to encourage the "live at home" program "through economical living conditions of our people and to stimulate interest in forming and buying cooperative". PETE BRADHAM, an employee at the County Court House in Manning, S. C., has advised this organization is being sponsored by the NAACP to combat the Citizens Councils.

Organizations known as the Sixth Congressional District Voters Council, and the Palmetto State Voters Association, Inc., exist in South Carolina.

Various meetings have been held in Savannah, Ga. during recent months under sponsorship of organization known as Georgia Voters League, which organization is reportedly attempting to get 300,000 negroes registered throughout the state of Georgia prior to the next election.

## 2. ECONOMIC PRESSURE AND BOYCOTTS

An article in "The State" a daily newspaper at Columbia, S. C., in the edition of September 9, 1955, stated the NAACP was quietly negotiating with officials of national firms to take action against southern employees and franchise holders who apply economic pressure to NAACP members.

An article in the July 8, 1955 issue of this same newspaper indicated an un-named woman who identified herself as an official of the NAACP as saying she contemplated action probably in the nature of a court test in connection with the reported boycott by the Coca-Cola Company of negro firms in Elloree, S. C.

An article in the September 10, 1955 issue of the "South Carolina Independent" stated a brochure had been circulated by Lincoln Emancipation Clubs, Inc. advising negroes how "the economic squeeze can be operated from both ends". This article stated negroes should boycott all businesses of which members of the Citizens Councils were a part and "do not buy or use anything from their businesses..... Go into the next town or state if necessary." The article stated the President of a bank in South Carolina was a member of the Citizens Council, and that all negroes were urged to withdraw their funds from this bank and all of its branches.

The Mayor of Orangeburg, S. C. has been reported to have started the acts of attempting to refuse to sell to persons who signed a petition requesting integration of local schools. The Mayor controls the Coca-Cola Company, Sun Beam Bread, and Paradise Ice Cream Company in Orangeburg, and reportedly has removed these products from stores of the petition signers. The NAACP in turn has reportedly called for a boycott of numerous merchants in Orangeburg.

## 3. AGITATION

S. E. ROGERS, Attorney, was quoted in the September 18, 1955 issue of "The State", previously mentioned, as having told the Darlington County States' Rights League the previous evening at Darlington there was very little time to act on the segregation issue and he deplored the small turn-out to hear him.

The September 20, 1955 issue of "The Times and Democrat", a daily newspaper at Orangeburg, S. C., stated the Sumter County Ministerial Association which is composed of white ministers, had declined to take part in a meeting to form a local religious council for easing racial tension. All city ministers of Sumter, S. C., both white and negro, had been invited.

An article in the September 22, 1955 issue of "The State" quoted the Superintendent of the Orangeburg Methodist District as saying

the Reverend JOHN V. MURRAY, JR., Pastor of the Springfield Methodist Church, had been transferred to Gilbert, S. C., after "the people in the area requested his removal". MURRAY was identified as co-author of a resolution passed by the South Carolina Methodist Conference a few weeks earlier deploring the Citizens Councils if they used economic pressure.

The September 22, 1955 issue of the "Florence Morning News", a daily newspaper at Florence, S. C., quoted a letter written by an individual who identified himself as an attorney as saying the negro was just quietly laughing up his sleeve and that the white leaders who were spewing and boiling were going to have to stew in their own juice.

The Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina was quoted in "The State" of October 12, 1955, as praising the Citizens Council at Elloree, S. C., where he spoke before the Lions Club on the previous date, and as condemning the NAACP as a "subversive organization".

The August 28, 1955 issue of "The State" contained an item to the effect that an estimated one thousand persons had on the previous evening heard the National President of the National Association for the Advancement of White People declare that southern white children would not go to school with negroes in the south. The speech occurred at what was described as an orderly rally of the Ku Klux Klan at which four people wore white robes.

The August 26, 1955 issue of "The State" quoted a member of the South Carolina General Assembly as saying he intended to introduce a bill at the next session of the assembly to forbid any state, county, or city employee belonging to the NAACP.

On August 2, 1955 the "Savannah Morning News", a daily newspaper at Savannah, Ga., carried an article showing the state school board had ordered NAACP members who held school teaching jobs in Georgia to resign from the NAACP by September 15, 1955.

A negro attorney of the NAACP was quoted in "The Times and Democrat", previously mentioned, of August 31, 1955, as saying "Once the two races are integrated intermarriage is the natural consequence."

The "Savannah Morning News", previously mentioned, of October 20, 1955 quoted the Attorney General of Georgia as saying the NAACP was being used as a front and tool by subversive elements and was fomenting strife and discord between the white and negro races in the south. This same issue quoted the Acting President of the Conference of Branches of the NAACP as declaring the Attorney General through his speech could not have rendered the Kremlin greater service, and that the Attorney General was guilty of reckless and frustrated babbling.



The "News and Courier", a daily newspaper at Charleston, S. C., contained an article in its issue of October 22, 1955, quoting remarks made by JAMES M. HINTON who is head of the NAACP in South Carolina. These remarks were made at the 12th Annual Convention of the NAACP in North Carolina at Durham on October 21, 1955.

*NATIONAL Association for the Advancement of Colored People*

Among remarks attributed to HINTON was one to the effect Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi were "acting like jackasses" in the segregation matter.

#### 4. INCIDENTS

*See P. 4, P. 1*  
An anonymous letter was received by the Editor of "The State", previously mentioned, early in August 1955, signed by "A negro from Harlem", in which reference was made to the crucifying and raping of white people.

W. NEWTON ~~X~~POUGH, who signed a petition for integration of the schools at Orangeburg, S. C., received a letter postmarked August 12, 1955, in which he was told "Consider yourself to be in a very dangerous position, the sooner you make a public withdrawal the better for you". The letter was signed "A white citizen".

The President of the Beaufort, S. C. Chapter of NAACP received a letter postmarked September 6, 1955, signed "K.K.K." in which she was warned to "stop talking about mixed schools or you will get a hot rod rammed through you".

A letter signed ~~X~~BEN, postmarked September 2, 1955, was received by "The Times and Democrat" at Orangeburg, S. C. This letter stated, "No, we don't want your pale daughters, we want our freedom from segregated schools".

[redacted] of Lake City, S. C., alleged under date of October 21, 1955 that the following incidents had occurred to his knowledge:

The homes of [redacted]

*S.C.*  
[redacted] had been bombarded since the Lake City City Council had been organized; that the frame house of ~~IRA~~GAMBLE had been set afire, but that terrorism against GAMBLE had ceased when he published in a local newspaper a statement he was no longer a member of the NAACP; that on the night of October 18, 1955, [redacted] received a telephone call from an anonymous caller who cursed him and declared, "You're next".

*NATIONAL Association for the Advancement of Colored People*

On October 5, 1955 fire of an undetermined origin destroyed a church at Lake City, S. C. of which the [redacted]

was Pastor. On October 8, 1955, [redacted] wife received through the mails a letter addressed to him, postmarked at Lake City on October 7, 1955, in which it was stated [redacted] was being given ten days in which to leave Lake City, and that he would be moved out if it took dynamite to do it. The letter which was un-signed stated information had been received that [redacted] was the one who started the school segregation mess at Manning, S. C., and had come to Lake City to continue his dirty, filthy work after being run out of Manning. [redacted] was instrumental in bringing the original Clarendon County, S. C. suit which ultimately resulted in the Supreme Court decision prohibiting segregation.

On October 11, 1955, a warrant was issued in Lake City, S. C., charging [redacted] with assault and battery with a deadly weapon on October 10, 1955. This charge grew out of the fact [redacted] fired into an automobile containing white men as it passed his house. [redacted] has since declared he was returning fire. After the shooting incident [redacted] fled from Lake City.

*NATIONAL Association for the Advancement of Colored People*  
[redacted] of Manning, S. C., a member of the Clarendon County Branch of the NAACP, wrote a letter dated September 20, 1955, in which he declared that early on the morning of September 17, 1955, someone fired four shots into his place of business; further that at a rally of the KKK a few weeks previously he was described by the principal speaker as the "trouble spot" in Manning.

[redacted] also stated that on August 19, 1955, a cross was burned on property located across the highway from his property.

An item in the August 24, 1955 issue of the "News and Courier", previously mentioned, stated a cross of wood and cloth had been burned the previous evening in front of the residence of the Editor of the local newspaper at Walterboro, S. C., in which the Editor had the previous week editorially attacked the Ku Klux Klan under the caption "Shadow of Vultures".

On the night of August 12, 1955 thirteen individuals dressed in what appeared to be KKK robes held a meeting near Florence, S. C. during the course of which a newspaper reporter sought information and was physically assaulted.

##### 5. INVESTIGATIONS

According to an article in the September 13, 1955 issue of "The State", the Governor of South Carolina was asked on the previous date by a group of 52 individuals, business, industrial and agricultural leaders,

(identical with Committee of 52 mentioned elsewhere), to investigate the possibility of fraud in petitions filed with local school boards by negroes seeking integration within the public school system.

"The Times and Democrat" of September 24, 1955 quoted the Governor as having disclosed on the previous evening that the State Law Enforcement Division was investigating the school integration petitions.

A State Representative, on October 25, 1955, released the text of a resolution he said he would introduce before the General Assembly of South Carolina at its next session calling for an investigation of activities of the NAACP at the South Carolina State College at Orangeburg. This information is set forth in "The Times and Democrat" of October 26, 1955.

An article in the September 27, 1955 issue of "The State" stated the State Chapter of the NAACP was asking the Governor of South Carolina to investigate "unfair job and economic reprisals against negroes who had signed petitions asking for racial integration in the public schools".

#### 6. LITIGATION

An article in the September 9, 1955 issue of "The State" quoted the Chief Counsel of the NAACP as saying he was convinced "There are legal avenues open to stop the abolition of public schools in any of the southern states."

An attorney for the NAACP was quoted in the September 7, 1955 issue of "The Record", a daily newspaper at Columbia, S. C., as indicating the NAACP might appeal to the courts in order to halt economic reprisals against negroes in South Carolina.

An attorney for two school boards in Sumter County, S. C., has filed a suit for \$120,000 against the Executive Committee of the Sumter County Chapter of the NAACP charging that the NAACP had made false accusations which injured the attorney in his profession as a practicing attorney. Specifically the attorney claimed the NAACP had tried to show the attorney had induced an individual to make false assertions with the motive of serving the purpose of the Citizens Committees.

The Postmaster at Orangeburg stated on November 3, 1955 he had turned over to postal inspectors certain "boycott" lists which were being placed in mail boxes of negroes residing in the rural areas. This information was set forth in "The Times and Democrat" of November 4, 1955. It was noted these lists were not being placed in the mail boxes through regular mailing channels.

## 7. NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

"Not only will NAACP methods bring an end to the fine negro school system, and the white, but it will result in great economic hardship for many, and in a breakdown in good relations." "The Times and Democrat", Orangeburg, S. C., August 31, 1955.

"The people of this section have not changed their social habits, their traditions and their opinions merely because of a Supreme Court decision." "The Times and Democrat", Orangeburg, S. C., September 3, 1955.

"Deeper even than the race issues stirring men's passions is the right of free citizens to free and decent government. Citizens Councils. . . . are sparking new life into time honored principles of the Republic. . . . principles that have been neglected and even besmirched in recent years". "The News and Courier", Charleston, S. C., September 17, 1955.

"The lines are being drawn rapidly for a racial cold war in South Carolina. The battle is beginning to reach into every walk of life, has crept past the social setup, into the economy and even into the clergy. The rallying point for a last-ditch fight against segregation appears to be Citizens Councils. . . . admittedly formed to fight the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." "The State", Columbia, S. C., September 22, 1955.

"We point out to members of the minority race that any economic boycott they seek to impose will--in the long run--boomerang severely against them." "The Times and Democrat", Orangeburg, S. C., September 24, 1955.

"From what we can observe, organizers and officers (of Citizens Councils) are good people. They are kind, not cruel, and thoroughly understand the problems of both white and colored inhabitants. We wish the movement would spread even faster." "The News and Courier", Charleston, S. C., October 31, 1955.

"To rule out the pressure groups on both sides would take much of the hate out of such discussion, and allow sound, cool thinking and discussion which could not but help to improve the social climate of the state." "Florence Morning News", Florence, S. C., September 5, 1955.

8. MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS

"All we are asking is equal rights, peace and quiet, and let our schools remain the same." [redacted] Orangeburg, S. C.

"I have from the beginning felt that it was unwise for the races to be thrown together in the public schools, and I have not changed from that position." [redacted] St. Paul's Methodist Church, Orangeburg, S. C. *e*

"The South's colored folk have preserved the old time simple Christian faith in a way that no other group of people has. If we Christian people work together in a Christian way, this thing will work itself out for the best interests of the white people and especially for the best interests of the colored people." Dr. BOB JONES, SR., Founder, Bob Jones University, Greenville, S. C.

"The negro people in the south have no greater friends than the white people, and they will make a great mistake in following these outside leaders." U. S. Senator J. STROM THURMOND, South Carolina.

"There are times to speak and times to keep quiet, and this is a time to speak. I am a negro.... I have done a lot of traveling in my day and seen a lot of sights, and I am telling the world that South Carolina is a good place for negroes who want to be good citizens. My colored brothers and sisters, pray to God to give you the wisdom to teach your children to teach their children never to let strangers come into South Carolina and mess things up for our race. Watch your step about signing petitions now and forevermore." [redacted] St. Paul's Methodist-Episcopal Church, Kingstree, S. C.

"South Carolina school children have returned to their books for another year, and they have done so in peace and in conformity with the pattern of racial segregation which has made for that peace. Not one child, either white or colored, has sought to gain admission to a school for the other race. There have been no acts of disorder, no disturbances and no unpleasantness in our schools." Governor GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., South Carolina.

An article in "The News and Courier", Charleston, S. C., on September 24, 1955, set forth a statement by Representative JOHN L. McMILLAN of South Carolina, in which he stated the Citizens Councils may be the answer to the school segregation problem since these councils are made up of the leading citizens of the towns and people who are well acquainted with school problems.

"Many people sincerely believe that segregation is wrong, because they have been brainwashed by left-wing writers. These people would tear the Constitution to shreds to see their concept of sociology rammed down the throat of the South." Former Governor HERMAN TALMADGE of Georgia.

"When Chief Justice WARREN filed the opinion he laid a stone in the temple of liberty, freedom, decency, right living, and things a true American believes in." Retired U. S. District Judge J. WATIES WARING.

"The people of South Carolina are prepared to resort to every legal means to keep the schools segregated. This is a good sign and will I am convinced be of tremendous help in solving the problem." South Carolina State Senator L. MARION GRESSETTE.

"It is my belief that no progress can be made unless and until both the Klan and the NAACP are wholly eliminated from the picture in South Carolina." J. ASHTON WILLIAMS, U. S. District Judge, Eastern District of South Carolina.



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

FROM : SAC, New Orleans (105-587)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS & STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS.  
IS - X

DATE: 11/14/55

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/10/01 BY 10202 WLS

X 91842 ER/hm

Rebulet October 28, 1955.

For purpose of clarity, this summary will be divided into two parts; namely, the part which is applicable to the State of Louisiana and the part which is applicable to the Southern District of Mississippi.

LOUISIANASOUTHERN GENTLEMEN

This organization was incorporated in Baton Rouge, Louisiana July 22, 1954, and a charter filed August 4, 1954. The charter states that the organization is nonprofit and was organized for the exclusive reasons "to promote, foster and afford opportunity for social intercourse, intellectual improvements and amusement to its members; to promote, foster and afford opportunity for athletics, sports, and all indoor and outdoor games and sports..." The application for membership for the SOUTHERN GENTLEMEN's organization was founded and chartered in Louisiana to maintain segregation in public schools, parks, playgrounds, etc. .. also the continuation of the Southern traditions and customs of our noble forefathers." The purpose of organization is to legally combat pressure brought by colored people to abolish segregation in schools. A petition was filed by the organization with the East Baton Rouge Parish School Board requesting that the Board go on record as upholding "equal but separate" facilities for negro and white students.

Fourteen chapters of this organization have been organized or are being organized in the area surrounding Baton Rouge. No incidents of violence have been reported and no facilitation or connection between the SOUTHERN GENTLEMEN and the KU KLUX KLAN has come to light.

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Director, FBI Continued:

11/14/55

RE: CITIZENS COUNCILS &  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
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At a meeting of the SOUTHERN GENTLEMEN on October 23, 1955 at Baton Rouge, [redacted] allegedly a member of the chapter from Erwinville, motioned that public officials at Baton Rouge be urged to place the Baton Rouge area "off limits" to negro soldiers who were in Louisiana participating in the Army maneuver "Operation Sagebrush." Newspaper accounts reflect this resolution was not discussed and was not adopted and the Mayor of Baton Rouge said that no such banning of negro troops would take place.

#### CITIZENS COUNCIL OF NEW ORLEANS

New Orleans newspapers reflect that a CITIZENS COUNCIL OF NEW ORLEANS has been formed to "aid by peaceful and legal means" delaying action to prevent racial integration of any type. Neighborhood groups are being formed in various sections of the city. Two individuals from Mississippi, including R. B. PATTERSON of Indianola, Mississippi, Director of Mississippi Citizens Councils, addressed the CITIZENS COUNCIL OF NEW ORLEANS, October 25, 1955.

#### ACTION TAKEN BY SCHOOL BOARD IN NEW ORLEANS

The School Board of Orleans Parish has employed Attorney GERARD RAULT to oppose desegregation litigation in New Orleans. According to the press, the School Board paid him \$25,000.

#### NAACP

No officials of the NAACP are known to be Communist Party members in Louisiana; however, Security Informants have advised that some Communist Party members have joined the NAACP on instructions of the District Organizer in order to attempt to influence the NAACP. None have been able to make leadership status, however.

Director, FBI continued:

11/14/55

INFLUENCE EXERTED BY COMMUNIST PARTY

Under date of November 1, 1955, the Bureau was furnished under the caption, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (Pamphlets and publications IS-C, Bufile 100-3-86), a photostatic copy of an eight page pamphlet dated September 29, 1955 entitled "Statement of the National Committee, CP, USA, on the Murder of EMMETT LOUIS TILL." The pamphlet was issued by the National Committee, CP, USA, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman. This pamphlet was furnished to an informant by [redacted] District Organizer of the Communist Party of Louisiana.

THE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT was organized January 22, 1955 at Jackson, Mississippi as a co-ordinating agency to work with various state organizations to preserve constitutional government. THE FEDERATION has its headquarters in New Orleans. The activities of this group have largely been confined to distribution of circular letters containing excerpts from the speech made by Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND regarding opposition to NAACP, and resolution adopted by the FEDERATION at its meeting January 22, 1955, Jackson, Mississippi.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

As result of Supreme Court decision, May 17, 1954, regarding segregation in public schools, a small group of citizens met in Indianola, Mississippi during July 1954 and formed this organization. The group reportedly organized to peacefully oppose the integration of races and to bring economic pressure on negro leaders who push the segregation issue. The group claims to oppose violence and hopes to accomplish its purpose by legal means.

The Council has grown to where it now covers the State of Mississippi and claims a membership of over 60,000 in 200 chapters throughout the state. It is

Director, FBI continued:

11/14/55

reported that the leaders of the group are prominent business, professional and religious leaders in Mississippi. It has been denied by the group that it sponsors or advocates any violence in connection with the resistance of the Supreme Court decision and hopes to accomplish its purposes peacefully and legally. The group also denies affiliation with the KU KLUX KLAN or similar groups.

#### SPLIT IN NEGRO POPULATION IN MISSISSIPPI

Newspaper accounts disclose that a split was developing in the negro population in Mississippi, and that there appeared to be so many factions that could not be expected that the negro population would vote as a bloc in the gubernatorial election of August 1955. The article stated that at one extreme was the NAACP and that at the other extreme was a group which was "sort of" referred to as negro citizens councils. The latter group had the blessing of the white citizens councils and it was reported that the negro citizens council would foster segregation and combat and expose negro agitators and encourage racial pride among negro people. Apparently the Association of Citizens Councils have given their blessing to the group of negroes who advocated the continuation of segregation. This group is headed by PERCY GREENE of Jackson, and H. H. HUMES of Greenville, Mississippi, and that they have the backing of religious and political organizations and have taken to task both the NAACP and Dr. T. R. M. HOWARD of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, President of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership. GREENE and HUMES maintained that the NAACP drive for integration has hurt the negro cause in Mississippi. Of course, the NAACP have in turn criticized GREENE and HUMES for their willingness to go along with segregation.

#### REPORT OF SMUGGLING OF ARMS INTO MISSISSIPPI

A Chicago informant advised that negroes in that area were purchasing small firearms at Sears Roebuck stores and other places and forwarding them to relatives in or adjacent to Mississippi and that the firearms were being smuggled into Mississippi. No confirmation has been had of these allegations and there have been no

Director, FBI continued:

11/14/55

outbreaks of violence between groups of white and negro citizens in the South/Judicial District of Mississippi.

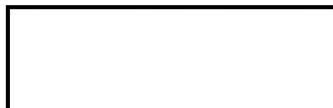
NAACP

Informants have advised that the officers of the NAACP in Mississippi are not known to them to be members of the Communist Party. The NAACP has taken a very active part in Mississippi in connection with the segregation issue and is reported to have sponsored the filing of petitions with school boards in Jackson, Natchez, Vicksburg, Clarksdale, and Yazoo City, Mississippi requesting that negroes be admitted to public schools. The School Boards in these cities have reportedly ignored these petitions.

On November 6, 1955 THURGOOD MARSHALL, attorney for the NAACP, spoke before the Mississippi branch and stated that "the negroes will insist that the University of Mississippi and public schools be opened to them without regard to color."

There has been no evidence that the Communist Party has exerted any influence on either the NAACP or the opposing groups in Mississippi.

It is not possible to definitely cite specific instances which have arisen in connection with the problem of segregation in Mississippi. The following cases are cited inasmuch as the segregation issue may have had some bearing on them:



LAMAR SMITH, wa.  
Ditney Smith - VICTIM  
CR  
(Bufile 44-9327)

The victim in this case was killed as a result of his arranging for negroes to vote absentee ballots in a local election. Case presented to state grand jury, Brookhaven, Mississippi, no indictments returned to date.

Director, FBI continued

11/14/55

[REDACTED] ET AL;  
[REDACTED] ET AL - VICTIMS  
CR; ELECTION LAWS

Four negroes claimed they were not allowed to vote August 2, 1955 in Mississippi Democratic Primary election. Election officials claimed a number of individuals not allowed to vote because their names were not on the "poll book." U. S. Attorney, Jackson, believed case did not warrant prosecution which decision was concurred in by the Department.

[REDACTED] was., ET AL;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
CR

Victim was reportedly ordered to leave Madison County, Mississippi because he was allegedly "preaching or talking segregation." Victim now residing in Louisiana. Victim's wife and stepdaughter claim they have no personal knowledge as to why victim left Mississippi.

WILLIAM FORD BYRD, Sheriff,  
Holmes County, Mississippi, ET AL;  
[REDACTED] VICTIM;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
CR

MINTER, a physician, and COX, Plantation Manager, Providence Farms, Cruger, Mississippi, claimed that a mass meeting held in Tchula, Mississippi on September 29, 1955 where a recording was played of testimony given by four negroes, which related incidents of the mixing of races at Providence Plantation. A resolution was passed at the meeting stating that it would be better for the county if MINTER and COX left. The meeting was reportedly attended by citizens from all over the county and was presided over by JAMES PERCY LOVE, one of the officials of the Citizens Council in Holmes County. Certain members of the Citizens Council took an active part in the calling of the meeting; however, it was reportedly announced that the meeting was not a meeting of the Citizens Council.



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11-14-55

FROM : SAC, Charlotte (105-331)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/15/81 BY 60324 NLS/KP  
918421 LHH

Rebulet to Atlanta dated 10/28/55.

There is only one known incident which has arisen in connection with the problem of segregation in the Charlotte Division that has come to the attention of the Charlotte Office. This is a case entitled UNSUB., Was. KKK; [redacted] - VICTIM, EXTORTION. 9-27941

On April 22, 1955, the victim, [redacted] Post Office Box [redacted] Stanley, North Carolina, [redacted] Stanley, North Carolina Chapter of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, [redacted] Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church, Stanley, North Carolina, appeared at the Charlotte Office and made available a letter postmarked 10:00 A. M., April 20, 1955 at Newton, North Carolina. This letter which was signed KKK contained a drawing of a gallows with a hangman noose hanging from it threatening to kill several Negroes when the Negro and white children were integrated. Enclosed in the letter was a newspaper clipping from the "Charlotte News", a Charlotte daily publication, concerning segregation in the public schools.

The victim received another letter postmarked April 27, 1955 at Conover, North Carolina signed KKK with a drawing of a gallows with a hangman noose hanging from it in which the unknown subject threatened to kill several Negroes. The second letter contained a newspaper clipping from the "Charlotte News" concerning segregation.

On August 26, 1955, victim [redacted] appeared at the Charlotte Office seeking protection. [redacted] stated that on August 22, 1955, he filed a petition with the Gaston County North Carolina School Board and with the Stanley, North Carolina School Board,

BDC/gm

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bearing the names of 48 parents of colored students in the Stanley, North Carolina area along with the name of [redacted] indicating [redacted] Stanley branch of the NAACP. This petition requested that colored students be integrated with white students at the Stanley, North Carolina school and was published in the "Gastonia Gazette", a local newspaper, on August 22, 1955.

[redacted] Since August 22, 1955, the victim's parents, [redacted] Post Office Box [redacted] Stanley, North Carolina, had received numerous local anonymous telephone calls threatening to kill [redacted] stated that he was sure these threatening telephone calls were because of his activities [redacted] NAACP of Stanley, North Carolina in connection with [redacted] a petition with the School Boards for integration of the students at the Stanley school.

On September 1, 1955, victim [redacted] again appeared at the Charlotte Office and furnished a letter received by him which contained a slip of paper with a notation "What do you think of this?". The letter also contained a newspaper clipping apparently from the "Charlotte Observer", a daily local newspaper, headline dated March 11, 1955, Greensboro, North Carolina, captioned "EXECUTION OF SCALES SET MAY 27". This clipping refers to the fact that RICHARD SCALES, a Negro, was found guilty of first degree murder for the murder of Mrs. BERTHA COOK which occurred in January, 1955, Greensboro, North Carolina and the fact that SCALES was sentenced to be executed, and the execution was announced as May 27, 1955.

[redacted] could offer no suggestions as to who may have been threatening him and felt that the receipt of this last letter, as well as the previous letters and telephone calls, was a result of his advocating Negro and white children be integrated.

For the information of the Bureau, Governor LUTHER HODGES of North Carolina has made several speeches throughout the state of North Carolina

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advocating a program of voluntary segregation. In this connection, an article entitled "GOVERNOR HODGES ANSWERS APOLOGIES" appeared in the "Charlotte Observer", an issue of November 8, 1955, in which parts read as follows:

"The three apologies Gov. Hodges received from A&T College" (Negro school located in Greensboro, North Carolina) "for the so-called 'snickering' incident of last Friday were answered by the Governor in 19 words Monday.

"The governor, who had to stop talking during his segregation address to the Negro students because of what he termed 'rather discourteous snickers,' wrote:

"I hereby acknowledge receipt of your communication of Nov. 5 regarding the unfortunate incident at A&T College."

The following organizations having been formed in North Carolina supposedly for the purpose of maintaining segregation in the public school system are:

1. States Rights League of North Carolina, Inc., believed to be state-wide with the main office in Charlotte, North Carolina.
2. Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., believed to be state-wide and had 356 charter members, many of whom were reportedly prominent in political and industrial circles.
3. The Fairfield Citizen's Council of Winnsboro, South Carolina, which is believed to be a local organization but might be affiliated with the Association of Citizens Councils of South Carolina, which is a state-wide organization.

In addition to the above three organizations, BRYANT BOWLES, President of the National Association For the Advancement of White People, spoke to approximately 250 persons in Charlotte, North Carolina on June 28, 1955. A second scheduled meeting in Charlotte on July 12, 1955 was canceled by BOWLES because of the lack of interest in the Charlotte people.

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All of these organizations have indicated in their charter, as well as in speeches by their officials, that they intend to accomplish the aims and purposes of the organization by legal means rather than by actual violence.

To date, no information has been received that any anti-segregation organizations have been formed, nor any information that any outside influence is being exerted on the pro-segregation organizations which have been formed.

It is anticipated that more local councils will be formed, and that the activity of the three organizations listed above will be increased.

In the event any pertinent information along these lines is received, the Bureau will be advised.

**Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT**

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: November 10, 1955

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-00)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/81 BY 5267M/SIS/8

92842 / Lm

Rebulet October 28, 1955 to Atlanta, carbon copy for Memphis, requesting a summary of the racial situation in the territory covered by this office.

I. INCIDENTS WHICH HAVE ARISEN IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE PROBLEM OF SEGREGATION.

UNKNOWN SUBJECT; [REDACTED] et al - VICTIMS; CIVIL RIGHTS; EXTORTION, Bureau File No. 44-9306. This case is an outgrowth of the primary election campaign in Mississippi in August, 1955. Shortly prior to the first primary, which was held on August 2, 1955, several negroes at Crawford, Mississippi received anonymous letters reading "Last warning if you are tired of living vote and die - D.T.A.N.V." The Negro recipients of these letters were rather influential in the Negro community and had registered and paid poll tax in order to be eligible to vote. As a result of the letters, however, they made no effort to vote in either the August 2 or the August 23, 1955 primary, and in fact cancelled their registration prior to the August 23, 1955 primary when they were contacted by three white individuals and instructed to do so. The letters at the end of the letter are believed to mean "Death to all Negro Voters." Investigation is continuing in this matter by the Memphis Office.

Additional investigations in the Memphis Division have recently been conducted by Departmental instruction as an outgrowth of the August, 1955 primary election in Mississippi. In the case entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECTS; [REDACTED] et al VICTIMS; RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO VOTERS, MISSISSIPPI PRIMARY ELECTION, AUGUST 23, 1955, LOWNDES COUNTY; CIVIL RIGHTS", Bureau File No. 44-9478, considerable investigation has been conducted.

Investigation has disclosed that all Negroes in Lowndes County who presented themselves at the polls during the first primary election on August 2, 1955 voted without incident. However practically all of the Negro voters who presented themselves

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at the polls at the time of the second primary election on August 23, 1955 were challenged by use of a written challenge slip on the basis they were not members of the Democratic Party. Investigation further disclosed that several white men, who live in the vicinity of Columbus, Mississippi, had what they described as an informal agreement to challenge the Negro voters on this basis. It was indicated that [redacted] who stated he is the President of the Columbus, Mississippi Chapter of the Citizens Council, had lead this group for purposes of challenging Negro voters. [redacted] has insisted that this matter did not in any way involve the Citizens Council and those men participating informally agreed "on the street" to do so, and that there was no organization whatever in connection with their activity.

In the case entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECTS; RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO VOTERS IN THE MISSISSIPPI PRIMARY ELECTION, AUGUST 2, 1955 - UNKNOWN VICTIMS; ELECTION LAWS; CIVIL RIGHTS", Bureau File No. 44-9482, investigation was conducted concerning challenging for failing to count Negro votes in the following Mississippi Counties: Bolivar, Sunflower, Clay, Humphries, Montgomery and Carroll. Investigation in Clay, Montgomery and Carroll Counties disclosed so little activity in this respect that the U. S. Attorney has stated he did not feel any further attention was warranted in those counties. Investigation in Bolivar County has disclosed that the result of the Mound Bayou Poll, an all Negro community, was that the votes were not counted in either primary based upon a written challenge to the voters of that box made by the candidates themselves. Investigation in Humphries County disclosed that the first Negro voters who appeared at the polls to vote were found unqualified at the time of the August 2, 1955 primary, based upon an alleged inability to satisfactorily answer a prepared list of questions put them at the polls. As a result no Negro voted in the first election, August 2, 1955, and apparently none appeared to vote in the second primary, August 23, 1955.

In Sunflower County, examination of the poll books reflects 181 Negroes were recorded therein; that sixteen voted in the August 2, 1955 primary and seven voted in the August 23, 1955 primary. Six of these Negroes on interview stated their votes were



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challenged in the August 2, 1955 primary and one during the August 23, 1955 primary.

It will noted in connection with the latter two investigations that no violence or threats of violence were alleged in connection with Negro voters.

In case entitled "UNKNOWN SUBJECTS, BELZONI, MISSISSIPPI; REVEREND GEORGE WESLEY LEE, aka - VICTIM; CIVIL RIGHTS", Bureau File No. 44-8940, widespread investigation has been conducted. Victim was shot and killed by a shotgun blast on the evening of May 7, 1955. Reverend LEE was active in Belzoni and vicinity regarding Negro matters, particularly with reference to Negro voting. Investigation discloses that LEE apparently incurred the enmity of a group of white persons due to his activities with respect to Negro voting, a highly controversial subject in Humphries County. Investigation indicates that the two principal suspects to LEE's shooting were members of the Citizens Council in Belzoni. Investigation has not disclosed that the Citizens Council had any direct connection whatever with the shooting.

The Memphis World issue of August 9, 1955 contains an article reflecting that 342 Negro parents had filed a petition with the Clarksdale, Mississippi City School System, asking for an immediate end to desegregation in the school system. The newspaper article noted this petition was sponsored by the Coahoma County NAACP Branch.

Regarding the above desegregation filed by the NAACP at Clarksdale, the Clarksdale Press Register, a newspaper published in Clarksdale, Mississippi, in an editorial in the August 20, 1955 issue, states that a chapter of the Citizens Council had been formed at Clarksdale as an outgrowth of the above petition. This editorial indicates that numerous signers of the petition were misled, did not understand the nature of the petition and had subsequently retracted their signatures.

As set out above some of the racial incidents referred to herein have not resulted in any possible Civil Rights violation and are no more than the evidence of the Negro people to obtain what they believe to be their legal rights in the states. They

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are listed herein, however, in order to point out to the Bureau that the Negro people are somewhat militant in the south and are actually demanding what the Supreme Court and other bodies have said they are entitled to.

In addition to the foregoing incidents which have resulted in investigations by the Bureau under the Civil Rights classification, the following items are called to the Bureau's attention. While these incidents do not indicate violence, they are indicative of the attitude of the Negro people in this territory insofar as demanding the abolition where segregation is concerned.

The Memphis Press Scimitar, a daily newspaper published in Memphis, in the April 28, 1955 issue, reflected that a Negro delegation with the assistance of the local attorney for the NAACP had called on the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees meeting in Memphis and requested admission of Negro students to the UT Extension School, a night school in Memphis. The newspaper account reflects that no action was taken by the Board of Trustees on the request of the Negro representatives, although it is a matter of common knowledge that since that date Negroes have not been admitted to this night school.

The Memphis World, a newspaper published in Memphis by and for the Negro people, in the May 31, 1955 issue, reflects that a suit had been filed in Federal Court in Memphis on behalf of five Negro youths who had previously been refused admission to Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee. This case was heard in the local Federal Court on October 10, 1955, and the court concluded that the program adopted by the State of Tennessee School Board providing for gradual admission of Negroes to Memphis State College was legal and was in accord with the Supreme Court decision of May 31, 1955. This program provided that additional Negroes would be admitted each year starting with the graduate school and including additional undergraduate classes each year until Negroes were admitted on a completely equal basis.

On April 28, 1955, OSI Agent, [redacted] Memphis, Tennessee, advised this office that the Mallory Air Force Depot in Memphis was experiencing difficulty from several Negro employees

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in connection with their demands for desegregation of facilities at the Depot such as the cafeteria. The complaining Negro employees, according to OSI Agent [ ] also demanded that Negro employees be advanced on an equal basis to supervisory jobs. It would appear that the above effort at the Mallory Air Force Depot was independent of any organized effort and resulted solely from the interest of the Negroes employed there.

b6  
b7C

II. ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE TERRITORY OF THE  
MEMPHIS OFFICE.

A. ORGANIZATIONS ADVOCATING THE PERPETUATION OF  
SEGREGATION.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE  
PEOPLE

The report of SA [ ] dated July 1, 1954 at Washington Field, reflects that the Washington Evening Star on February 18, 1954 stated that BRYANT W. BOWLES, President, NAAWP, had stated that Memphis would be the chapter headquarters for the Mid-South area, including Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Arkansas. [ ] (protect identity),

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b7D

The only other activity of the NAAWP in this area is referred to in a report of SA [ ] dated March 24, 1955 at Savannah, captioned as above, in which [ ] advised an Agent of the Savannah Office that [ ] Nashville, Tennessee, attended a preliminary organizational meeting on December 16, 1954 in Atlanta of various groups interested in maintaining segregation. This report does not reflect that [ ] had any connection with the NAAWP except that he attended

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the above conference. He was described by the informant as representing the States' Right Movement.

THE POLITICAL REPORTER; THE PRO-SOUTHERNERS; THE  
KNIGHTS OF THE KUKLOS KLAN; THE NATIONAL CITIZENS  
PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION; THE PATRICK HENRY ORGANIZATION

The above organizations are grouped together as investigation has reflected that their activities in this Division are the result of the activities of HARRY WILLIAM PYLE, the editor and publisher of the Political Reporter. PYLE has been known to this office for several years and has been engaged until recently in the publication of the mimeographed Political Reporter, a bitterly anti-Negro, anti-Jewish and anti-Governmental hate sheet. PYLE has distributed the publication widely and has regularly mailed copies of it to individuals in approximately half of the states. At one time PYLE attempted to merge his activities with those of the National Citizens Protective Association of St. Louis, Missouri, but this effort was unsuccessful as both PYLE and [redacted] NCPA in St. Louis, wanted to run the organization.

PYLE also has had some contact with the Patrick Henry Organization and attended a meeting of that organization in Georgia during 1954.

PYLE apparently had little success, if any, in getting local people interested in his various organizations until the past summer, subsequent to the Supreme Court decision. Since that time he has succeeded in getting numerous supporters in Memphis who are promoting neighborhood meetings under the name of the Pro-Southerners.

Investigation to date has indicated that PYLE has had possibly as many as 100 different individuals attending meetings of the Pro-Southerners. PYLE was a member of the KKK during the heyday of that organization after World War I, and is promoting, in conjunction with the Pro-Southerners, an organization known as the Knights of the Kuklos Klan. It appears that the Pro-Southerners is a mass organization, or possibly described as a front organization,

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and that the "elite", or those most interested in retaining segregation, are invited to become members of the Knights of the Kuklos Klan. PYLE claims that this organization is entirely different from the Klan which operated after both World War I and World War II, and is, in fact, the reincarnation of the original Klan, or as he calls it, the original order of Nathan Bedford Forrest, which was formed in 1876. Due to the interest PYLE has developed locally in the Pro-Southerners, he has not been publishing the Political Reporter. PYLE is seventy-six years of age, is a retired painter and paperhanger, and is bitterly opposed to any change in the racial practices in the south.

[redacted] supra, had had some contact with PYLE and described him as being a "rabble rouser", who easily appeals to people who demand militant action to solve race problems. They state that PYLE probably cannot attract an intelligent audience and could not hold that type audience in the event he happened to speak to it.

Generally PYLE and his activities have been either ignored or unknown to the local newspapers until the Commercial Appeal, a daily newspaper, in the September 30, 1955 issue, carried a news article discussing PYLE and his neighborhood activities. It is noted that this article quotes PYLE as claiming more than 700 members in nine Memphis and Shelby County Groups. The article also reflects that PYLE claimed he founded the Pro-Southerners last year with M.V. SHERRILL of Fort Pierce, Florida. The article noted that PYLE is the National Chairman; that SHERRILL is the Secretary-Treasurer; and that the National Headquarters of the organization are Fort Pierce. This organization is being investigated on a continuing basis and reports are being submitted to the Bureau every ninety days.

#### CITIZENS COUNCIL

Investigation of this organization has been authorized by the Bureau and reports are being submitted regularly. The organization claims to have approximately 60,000 membership in the State of Mississippi and is probably operating in almost half of the counties in the state. The organization claims to have been

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established both to preserve the racial customs in Mississippi, but also to do it in a non-violent manner by controlling the irresponsible element in the state. The organization claims, and doubtless has the support of the leading people in the counties in which it operates. It is particularly strong in the Mississippi Delta counties, many of which have a very large Negro population, consisting in some counties of a Negro majority in the county.

Although originated in Mississippi, the organization has since spread to some of the adjoining states, although the various clubs claim to be independent of each other. Recently the Citizens Councils in Mississippi, and similar groups in other states, have shown an interest in an organization known as the Federation for Constitutional Government. This organization apparently has temporary headquarters at 801 American Bank Building, New Orleans, Louisiana. Individuals in Mississippi claim that the success of the Negro people in obtaining favorable legislation and favorable decisions from the Supreme Court has resulted from the fact that they were organized, whereas the white people, particularly those in the south, were unorganized. The Council leaders feel that it can serve as a rallying point for the forces that want to preserve segregation. The Council claims unless the responsible people in the community have an organization such as this, that the irresponsible element will try to preserve segregation in a less intelligent and non-violent manner.

#### THE TENNESSEE SOCIETY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF SEGREGATION

This organization was referred to in the October, 1955 issue of the Citizens Council, which is published by the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi. It had not been previously known to this office, and no information has been obtained, that there is an operating organization under that name.

#### FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

#### TENNESSEE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

As set out above, the Citizens Councils in Mississippi have shown some interest in the Federation for Constitutional



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Government, which apparently is operating in New Orleans, and which is designed to coordinate the efforts of the various groups interested in retaining segregation. The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government is not definitely known to be connected with the Federation of Constitutional Government, supra, although the two are grouped together in this communication. Investigation is being conducted to determine the status of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government. It is noted that the report of SA [redacted] dated October 31, 1955 at Knoxville, captioned "TENNESSEE FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT" reflects that [redacted] of Nashville was connected with the organization. [redacted] is possibly identical with the previously mentioned [redacted] who attended the meeting of the NAAWP in Atlanta.

#### THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Klan as such is not known to be active in the territory of this office at the present time. It will be noted that subsequent to World War II the Klan was active on a limited scale in Middle Tennessee around Nashville, Pulaski and Columbia. This activity became dormant about four years ago and no known effort has been made recently to revive the Klan.

#### THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE RACES

This organization is not known to have actually functioned in Tennessee, although it was granted a corporate charter by the state on February 10, 1955. The charter reflects the incorporators as being individuals located in Memphis. No information has come to the attention of this office regarding the organization other than its formation.

#### THE PIONEERS OF TENNESSEE

This organization came to the attention of this office on July 15, 1955, when several citizens referred to the office mimeographed letters which they had received through the mail signed The Pioneers of Tennessee, and referring to the race situation. The letters began with "Dear Friend" and in the opening

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IS - X

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paragraph appeared to be sympathetic to a change in the race situation. Subsequent paragraphs, however, indicate that The Pioneers of Tennessee were advocating legislation which would "prevent whites from marrying whites and colored from marrying colored." This office has no information regarding this organization other than the fact that mimeographed letters have been mailed bearing the signature of The Pioneers of Tennessee.

In the city election campaign held in Memphis during October and November, 1955, various letters were called to the attention of this office which claimed that one of the candidates for Mayor, [redacted] was favorable to the Negroes and referred to him as Comrade and implied strongly that he was a candidate of the Communists.

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It is possible that there is some connection between The Pioneers of Tennessee and [redacted] as an informant has advised that one [redacted] was distributing copies of "The Pioneers of Tennessee" letters at a Pro-Southerners meeting at [redacted]

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#### B. ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISSOLVING SEGREGATION

##### NAACP

This organization operates and has for a number of years to some extent throughout the territory covered by the Memphis Office. NAACP Branches have existed for years in the larger cities in the territory and small chapters and isolated members have existed in the rural areas and the small towns.

The NAACP in Memphis is striving for a membership of 10,000 members, although informants and sources have indicated that it has never had anywhere near that number of members. The NAACP has had a branch in Nashville, Tennessee for a number of years.

The NAACP has operated in the Northern Judicial District of Mississippi for sometime and the branches have been relatively small. The membership both in Mississippi and Tennessee has been

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confined to the more militant and better educated Negroes.

#### THE MISSISSIPPI REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR NEGRO LEADERSHIP

This organization exists at Mound Bayou, Mississippi, an all Negro town, and was formed by Dr. T.M.R. HOWARD. HOWARD, it will be noted, has been very active since the EMMETT TILL murder case in making speeches throughout the country at various NAACP rallies. HOWARD has been active in the NAACP in Mississippi but there are indications that he considers the Council for Negro Leadership to be a competing organization to the NAACP. For example, in the investigation by the Memphis Office of the death of Reverend GEORGE WESLEY LEE at Belzoni, Mississippi, it was determined that the NAACP in the south does not trust HOWARD and is suspicious of his activities. HOWARD has, however, a considerable following because of his flamboyant methods and has been able to get various Negro speakers of national importance to address his meetings at Mound Bayou. For example, in April of 1955, the meeting was addressed by Congressman C. C. DIGGS of Detroit, Michigan.

#### SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE

While this organization is listed under the heading of those organizations interested in dissolving segregation, it is pointed out that it actually proves to be an objective, impartial news reporting service to provide information relative to the progress of integration in the south. The organization has been financed to some extent by the Ford Foundation for the Advancement of Education. It operates in Nashville, Tennessee and publishes a monthly survey of racial developments in the south. The [redacted] of the organization, [redacted] who was formerly the [redacted] Charlotte, N. C., is an individual who was very cooperative with the Charlotte Office of the Bureau. The service purports to be completely impartial and designed to provide school administrators with the benefit and experience of similar officials in other parts of the south.

#### III. POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE IN THE ABOVE GROUPS

Investigation has reflected that all of the organizations set out above disclaimed any advocacy of violence as set out

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elsewhere herein, the Citizens Councils in Mississippi propose to have been formed partly as a means of preventing violence by the irresponsible element in the community. The leadership in the Citizens Councils in Mississippi is believed to be responsible and to have too much at stake to participate in or countenance violence. The organizations known to be operating in Memphis are not believed to be strong enough either at the present time or in the foreseeable future to advocate violence.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, it is possible no doubt that isolated cases of violence may occur in the territory covered by this office and by an outgrowth of racial problems. This will be, however, an individual matter and will not be the direct result of any encouragement of violence from the various organizations.

#### IV. OUTSIDE INFLUENCE

##### A. PRO-SEGREGATION

The outside influence on the forces that would perpetuate segregation in this territory have been negligible. Although the Association of Citizens Councils in Mississippi has spread to other states, and doubtlessly has sympathetic relationships with similar organizations in those states, the outside influence is negligible. Various members of the Citizens Councils who have furnished information to this office contend very vigorously, and no doubt sincerely, that it is a home grown organization. It also claims generally that people in other parts of the country do not understand the race problem as it exists in the south and, therefore, would be a handicap to the organization rather than of any assistance. It is possible that the Councils will form some common association with the above mentioned Federation for Constitutional Government but this will doubtlessly be only for the purpose of cooperation and mutual assistance and will not likely result in domination of the Citizens Councils by any outside group.

Regarding HARRY WILLIAM PYLE in Memphis, PYLE has, as previously noted, distributed his paper, The Political Reporter, very widely throughout the country. By his action he has come in contact with various anti-racial groups in other parts of the

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country. PYLE, however, is entirely too much of an individualist to accept any domination from these other individuals, even though they may agree with him insofar as the race problem is concerned. PYLE's success in recent months in winning some support in Memphis has resulted solely from the fact that he was able to present to local individuals, who were bitterly opposed to any change in the race relations, what appeared to be an organized entity for fighting an undesired change. PYLE in other words capitalized on the feeling that existed in Memphis and was waiting to be exploited by himself or some other individual.

#### B. ANTI-SEGREGATION

The principal group fighting segregation in this area is the NAACP. The NAACP in Memphis and in Nashville has been subjected to some effort at Communist infiltration. It has successfully fought this effort and in fact in Memphis has even refused to accept money from [ ] the local leader of the Communist Party.

The NAACP in Memphis has been moderate in its demands in the past to the extent that several years ago it even balked at demands of the national office thereof that it withdraw its endorsement of a segregated hospital in Memphis. Local NAACP officials contended that the great immediate need for the Negro people was a hospital, and that they should not care whether it was segregated or not. The national office allegedly threatened to withdraw the charter from the branch, whereupon the branch cancelled its endorsement of the segregated hospital but then the members of the NAACP as individuals endorsed the hospital.

In Nashville the NAACP has resisted the efforts of [ ] an individual who has been known in the past to be a member of the CP, to dominate their organization. [ ] a white professor at [ ] in Nashville, attempted to have his daughter admitted to [ ] in Nashville. The NAACP would have no part of his efforts, and has in fact so isolated [ ] and some of his associates in Nashville that they have no influence in the group.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/14/55

FROM : *JAN* SAC, RICHMOND (105-SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES'  
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
IS-XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/13/81 BY 60247 NLS/SP  
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Rebulet October 28, 1955, requesting a summary of the racial situation in the territory covered by the Richmond Office.

Investigation conducted in connection with organizations formed for the purpose of perpetuating or dissolving segregation and a review of newspaper accounts on the problem of segregation reflect there has been no incident in this territory which has arisen in connection with the problem of segregation.

In July, 1955, the U.S. District Court, Richmond, Va., issued a ruling that desegregation would not be required prior to the commencement of the Fall school term, so in Virginia's public school system there is no desegregation this year. Every school is reported operating on the same segregated basis on which it operated last year.

At the present time there are two organizations in Virginia which have been formed for the purpose of perpetuating segregation. The largest groups is identified as the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, hereinafter referred to as DSSIL. The DSSIL was formed on October 26, 1954, and briefly its purpose is opposed to integration in the public schools of Virginia under any arrangement or plan whatsoever. This organization has advocated changes in the state laws which would permit public funds to be used in private schools and abolish compulsory attendance laws. The organization claims membership of approximately 8,000 and its officials and members of the board of directors consist of prominent people of the highest type including some high ranking political figures. This organization has chapters in numerous localities throughout Virginia; however, its following is centered in Southside Virginia where the Negro population is heaviest. Investigation

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concerning officials and activities of this organization fails to include any official or member who has engaged in any violence, and persons questioned concerning the officials and members have uniformly advised this group is assertedly opposed to any violence or illegal activities and its members are reputable citizens.

On October 25, 1955, the Danville, Virginia, "Bee" carried an article relating that United States Congressman WILLIAM M. TUCK, former governor of ~~South~~ <sup>Southwest</sup> Virginia, in addressing a public meeting of the newly formed Halifax County chapter of DSSIL at South Boston, Va., on October 24, 1955, stated "I intend to resist with all the might I have this effort to distort the minds, to pollute the education and to defile and make outrid the pure Anglo-Saxon blood that courses through the innocent veins of our helpless children".

The second organization for perpetuating segregation is known as the Virginia League Incorporated, aka, Virginia League, hereinafter referred to as VL. This organization was formed on July 13, 1955, by a small group of people in Virginia with headquarters at Highland Springs, Virginia, with the publicly announced intent of preserving racial segregation in public schools of Virginia through legal means. This group is very small with no known local chapters having been formed. Investigation conducted concerning this organization has revealed nothing indicating that the group advocates the use of illegal methods or violence. Also, there has been no information reflecting that the officials are individuals who personally would engage in such acts.

A group which is frequently referred to in Virginia on the segregation question is that appointed by Governor THOMAS STANLEY of Virginia approximately 15 months ago. This committee consists of 32 members of the General Assembly and is known as the Governor's Committee on Public Education and was appointed by the Governor to study and shape policy on the school segregation question. This legislative group, headed by State Senator GARLAND GRAY of Waverly, Va., and often referred to as the Gray Commission, has been working in secret and its activities are not known. However, reports have appeared in the newspapers indicating that this group is searching for lawful means of preventing compulsory integration of white and Negro pupils. This commission is reported to be

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considering proposals on local referendums before any city or county school system could be integrated. Also, it was reported that this commission was awaiting the decision of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals as to the validity of the states paying the tuition of individual students who want to go to private schools so the commission could recommend steps toward a constitutional convention to amend the State Constitution.

According to newspaper accounts, it was felt that if the tuition payment plan was determined to be unconstitutional that the Gray Commission would recommend that a special session of the General Assembly of the Virginia Legislature be called to start the necessary machinery for a constitutional convention. The convention would be expected to make changes which would specifically permit tuition payments.

It should be noted that on November 7, 1955, the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals rendered a decision stating that the state could not make payments for the tuition of individual students who want to go to private schools.

Newspaper accounts reflect that recently United States representatives WILLIAM M. TUCK of the 5th Congressional District of Virginia and WATKINS M. ABBITT of the 4th Congressional District of Virginia proposed a "local option" plan for integration in schools. On November 2, 1955, the Richmond, Virginia "Times-Dispatch" carried an article stating U.S. Senator HARRY FLOOD BYRD, former governor who is recognized as the political organization leader in Virginia, has given a tentative endorsement to the "local option" proposals of TUCK and ABBITT. BYRD was quoted as stating "Without stating an opinion at this time as to whether this is a final answer, I believe such referendum will be useful in meeting the problem that confronts us".

The "Richmond Times-Dispatch" further reports that former Governor JOHN S. BATTLE of Virginia on November 2, 1955, while speaking in New York City, declared that he thought local government officials in "many sections" of his state "would decline to appropriate funds for the operation of integrated schools". The article

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continued that BATTLE said he did not think the state would assume the cost of operation and responsibility of direction of the schools "in our time under a policy of integration". BATTLE pointed out that under Virginia laws and constitution the localities operate and control the schools.

According to a news article appearing in the "Richmond Times-Dispatch" on November 3, 1955, the Virginia Council on Human Relations is the only organization that has been formed in Virginia since the United States Supreme Court's decision on the segregation question in schools which has as its major purpose the advocating of compliance. The Virginia Council on Human Relations, according to an article appearing in the "Richmond Times-Dispatch" on May 16, 1955, was formed in February, 1955, and is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. The article further stated that the Virginia Council on Human Relations will be financed in part by the Ford Foundation. Its officials, who are both white and Negro, have been identified chiefly as individuals connected in the field of education and religion.

On May 16, 1955, the "Richmond Times-Dispatch" carried an article reflecting that Dr. JOHN H. MARION, JR., pastor of the Bon Air Presbyterian Church, had submitted his resignation to become executive secretary of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Dr. MARION, who is white, was quoted as stating "The council takes the position that compulsory segregation is out of accord with the spirit of democracy and only when segregation is put behind us will certain minority groups in our American life -- Negroes in particular -- be able to enjoy fully the freedom and opportunity to which they are entitled under the Constitution". In his comments MARION identified members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations as being "Men and women of various faiths and races who have set their hands to the important task concerning the crucial problems that our nation and southern states confront today in the field of human relations".

The "Richmond Times-Dispatch" on November 6, 1955, relates that the Virginia Council on Human Relations is a 200 member organization with a

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program which was described briefly as "Governor STANLEY should declare that it is Virginia's intention to comply with the letter and spirit of the Supreme Court decisions, and a biracial commission should be appointed to offer positive, helpful leadership in bringing about an orderly transition to desegregated schools."

On July 28, 1955, [ ] who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is familiar with some Communist Party activities in the State of Virginia, related that [ ] had ascertained that on July 15, 1955, two representatives of the Richmond Branch of the Communist Party had met with Dr. JOHN MARION. The Communist representatives were reported to have stated to Dr. MARION that they were worried about the school situation and that there was danger that the public school system would be closed due to the activity of those opposed to integration, and they had contacted him inasmuch as he, Dr. MARION, had taken a positive stand toward upholding the Supreme Court's decision in this matter. The Communist representative pointed out to MARION that there has been a large amount of sentiment for upholding the Court's decision and many organizations and individuals had spoken favorably of it. The representatives further pointed out that there were in addition many people who, although not in favor of integrated schools, would be willing to comply with the decision rather than have the school system eliminated or rely on the uncertainty of private schools. It was suggested to Dr. MARION that it was felt that if this sentiment for integration could be organized there would be a much better chance for upholding the Court's decision and thereby save the public schools. MARION was reported as stating that he believed the disorganized activity by those opposed to integration was doomed to failure and that the people would finally accept integrated schools even though they did not want them in lieu of having no schools at all.

Dr. MARION further related to the Communist representatives that the Southern Regional Council had been organized and was composed of "intellectuals" from both races who were attempting to do the groundwork for speeding up peaceful integration. He further advised that his group was issuing a pamphlet calling for conferences between leaders of both races for discussion on the matter, and it was planned through these pamphlets that small neighborhood

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discussion groups would be organized and the Southern Regional Council would send district leaders to these groups to speak to them. Dr. MARION further related that he had just returned from a meeting at Nashville, Tenn., where he had met with people of both races, and there was no noticeable difference in their intellectual attainment.

[redacted] further related that on July 28, 1955, [redacted] had ascertained a Communist Party group meeting was held in Richmond, Virginia, on July 21, 1955. At this meeting a report was made on the results of the contact with Dr. MARION and those present were well pleased with the results of that meeting. It was suggested that representatives of the Communist Party join Dr. MARION's group and that they should attempt to obtain positions where they could give guidance and control to issues and policies in this organization if it was to play a real part in the fight to force integration.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, hereinafter referred to as the NAACP, was organized in Virginia in 1935 and has approximately 30,000 members and more than 40 local branches. Its policies, as disclosed by information in newspapers and other public media, while strong in its support of prompt compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court's decision for racial integration, has disclosed no indication towards violence.

In May, 1954, the Richmond Branch of the NAACP was reported increasing its membership quota from 4,000 to 5,000. At its recent state conference held at Charlottesville, Va., on October 7-9, 1955, the NAACP was reported in the Richmond "News Leader" on October 10, 1955, stating that it was believed that "a reasonable time has passed" and the organization was prepared to wage further legal war against forces seeking to prevent desegregation of Virginia's public schools. It was reported that a decision to file suits against several Virginia localities had been made by the officials and attorneys and it was pointed out that petitions calling for desegregation already had been filed by the NAACP in 6 Virginia localities; namely, Norfolk, Newport News, Alexandria, Charlottesville and the counties of Arlington and Isle of Wight.

News accounts reflect that the NAACP leaders in Virginia have referred to Governor STANLEY's state commission

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on public education as an attempt to get around the U.S. Supreme Court's decision, and they criticized the commission in that it should have been biracial composed of both white and Negro educators and representatives of the legal staff of the NAACP as well as members of the General Assembly.

Investigation conducted by the Richmond Office reflect there has been no actual infiltration of the NAACP locally by the Communist Party. However, the Communist Party has attempted to guide and influence certain contacts within the membership of this organization. In the past officials of the NAACP in Virginia have expressed considerable opposition to Communist infiltration, influence or other associations with NAACP.

On March 8, 1955, [ ] reported that on [ ] a new plan of the Party was announced. According to [ ] this plan was to try to influence and infiltrate the NAACP. In connection with this plan it was announced that the Communist Party hopes to recruit new members for the NAACP with preference being given to those individuals in industry and unions. [ ] it was pointed out that if the Communist Party was successful in recruiting new members in the NAACP, the Communist Party would be in a position to work with these new people in opposition to the old conservative leaders.

Since this date [ ] has advised of no success in the above plan, however, it is currently part of the Communist Party program in this area. It should be noted that the Communist Party, in the area covered by the Richmond Office, [ ]

[ ] The Communist Party has no office or headquarters located in Virginia.

To further present the picture of the racial situation in Virginia, the following data is being set forth which reflects that in a detailed study completed by the Virginia Department of Education in 1954 and reported in the Richmond "News Leader" on October 26, 1954, it was noted that there were great extremes in the concentration of whites and Negroes throughout Virginia.

At one extreme the survey showed a Virginia County with 99.9% white population while at the other extreme a county was listed in which the Negroes made up 81%



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of the total residents. This summary showed that Buchanan County located in the southwestern part of the state on the basis of the 1950 census had 35,738 white residents and only seven Negro residents. It was noted that there were no Negro children of school age. The survey showed that Charles City County located in the Tidewater area of Virginia had 890 white residents in 1950 and 3,514 Negro residents with the latter making up 81% of the population. In this county it was noted that there were 1,263 Negro children of school age as against 314 white children. This survey also showed that 8 cities had fewer than 10% Negroes among all school age children. 11 other cities had 10% and 30% Negro school age children. Nine cities, including Richmond, had 30% and 50% Negroes in their school census.

This summary showed 18 Virginia counties had fewer than 5% Negroes in their total number of school age children while 14 counties had Negroes making up 5% to 9% of their school census. Nine counties had between 10% and 19% Negroes and 9 counties had Negroes of 20%-29%. Also, Negroes made up between 30% and 39% in 12 counties; 40%-49% in seven counties; 50-59% in 18 counties; 60-69% in seven counties and 70%-79% in three counties and 80%-89% in one county.

The "Richmond Times-Dispatch" for February 24, 1955, carried an editorial based upon a report by SARA K. GILLIAM, Research Assistant, University of Virginia, Bureau of Population and Economic Research, which reflected instead of an increase that there has been a steady decline proportionately in the Negro population in Virginia. This is geographically demonstrated by these figures showing the percentage of Negroes in the total population of Virginia:

1830	47.9%
1860	43.3%
1880	41.8%
1900	35.7%
1920	29.9%
1930	26.9%
1940	24.7%
1950	22.2%

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In commenting on the above it was reported that the colored race traditionally has a much higher birth rate than the white but the mortality among Negroes has been higher and so has the migration of the members of the Negro race from the state. It was reported that in 1950 one out of every three Negroes born in Virginia was living in another state. This loss was compensated for in part by the fact that one non-Virginian Negro moved into the state for every three Virginia Negroes who had moved away. Therefore, in 1950 Virginia had an accumulated net loss of 24% weighing outward migration against inward migration. The article further reported that comparable figures for white persons showed a 3% gain.

The "Richmond Times-Dispatch" recently carried an article reflecting the findings of a survey conducted by ALAN S. DONNAHOE, Director of Research of the Richmond Newspapers, Inc. This survey was conducted in Richmond among 1,388 persons which reflected that 92% of all white adults questioned were in favor of segregation in public schools while 6% were opposed to segregation and 2% were undecided. Among the Negro adults questioned 3% favored segregation, 91% were opposed to segregation and 6% were undecided. This survey further reflected that of the 92% of the white adults who favored segregation, 88% of them stated they were strongly in favor of it and only 4% were moderately or mildly in favor. The survey reflected that of the 91% of the Negroes opposed to segregation 82% were strongly opposed as against 9% who moderately or mildly opposed it.

The Richmond Office will be alert for information requested in referenced letter and if any information is received, it will be promptly furnished to the Bureau.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/14/55

FROM : SAC, LITTLE ROCK (105-137)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 48267NLS

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Rebulet October 28, 1955.

Incidents and activities indicating a degree of racial tension in the Little Rock territory have been centered around the issue of segregation in the public schools.

The problems incident to the accomplishment of segregation in the public schools, were first brought into public focus with the organization in January, 1955, of White America Inc. This organization was formed at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and duly incorporated as a non profit Arkansas corporation with the avowed purpose of maintaining segregation of the races in the schools, churches, and socially.

Chapters of White America Inc., were organized at Little Rock and other cities in the southeastern section of Arkansas, however, only the Pine Bluff and Little Rock chapters are known to be presently active in their efforts to continue segregation. White America Inc. assembled a staff of attorneys and announced its intention to form chapters in every school district in the state of Arkansas, and to work through the school boards to prevent integration in the schools.

The first incident which arose in connection with the segregation issue occurred in the Hoxie School District.

In June, 1955, the Hoxie Public School Board announced its intention to end segregation in the Hoxie schools, and on July 11, 1955, the Hoxie Schools opened on an integrated basis.

Approximately three weeks after school commenced, [redacted] a resident of the Hoxie School District, and other citizens, formed the Hoxie Citizens Committee and circulated

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1 - 105-134  
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1 - 105-133  
1 - 44-341

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a petition calling on the Hoxie School Board to return to segregation.

The Hoxie School Board declined to return the schools to a segregated basis, however, and the summer term of school was closed two weeks early to allow for further consideration of the problem.

Following the organization of the Hoxie Citizens Committee, a considerable amount of literature was sent into the Hoxie community by the Associated Citizens Council of Mississippi, and by White America Inc., urging a return to segregation. There is no evidence that acts of violence were advocated by either White America Inc., or the Associated Citizens Council of Mississippi, or by the Hoxie Citizens Committee.

[redacted] attorney for White America Inc., was retained by the Hoxie Citizens Committee to assist in their fight to retain segregation, however, [redacted] stated he was representing the Hoxie Citizens Committee as a private attorney and not as a representative of White America Inc.

On September 9, 1955, JAMES D. JOHNSON, Attorney Crossett, Arkansas, and former State Senator, announced the formation of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas, which according to JOHNSON, would be an information group to give news of what is happening in the South. Leaders in this organization are JOHNSON and a Hot Springs newspaper man, CURT COPELAND. This group held mass meetings in several of the smaller cities in the Southern and Eastern sections of the State. Circulars distributed announcing the holding of these mass meetings, contained a copy of a letter purported to be from R. B. PATTERSON, Associated Citizens Councils of Mississippi, and referred to a recording of a speech delivered in December, 1954, in Mississippi, reportedly by an organizer of the NAACP, regarding plans of the NAACP for Arkansas. This recording reportedly was played by JOHNSON and COPELAND at some of the mass meetings, sponsored by White Citizens Council of Arkansas.

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JOHNSON has indicated he is not interested in running for a political office, however, it has been reported that JOHNSON intends to be a candidate for governor at the next election, and that the primary purpose of forming the White Citizens Council of Arkansas is to build support for his candidacy for governor.

Leaders of White America Inc., White Citizens Council of Arkansas, and Hoxie Citizens Committee, have stated that these groups do not advocate or condone acts of violence, and that these groups were actually formed in an effort to prevent violence in connection with the segregation issue.

[redacted] Arkansas Council on Human relations, an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., has advised that during August, 1955, his organization sent representatives to the Hoxie community to consult with Hoxie citizens and school officials to assist in bringing about harmonious solution to the integration problem, and to encourage school officials to stand by their decision to integrate the school. Thereafter the Hoxie Committee on Community Relations was organized in Hoxie on August 24, 1955, for the purpose of supporting the Hoxie School Board in their decision to integrate the schools. Members of the Hoxie Committee on Community Relations have disclaimed any outside influence in bringing about the organization of this group.

Representatives of White America Inc. have attended a meeting of the Hoxie Citizens Committee in Hoxie, and spoke in favor of continued segregation in the schools.

On September 17, 1955, a mass meeting sponsored by the White Citizens Council of Arkansas, for the White Citizens of Walnut Ridge and Hoxie, was held at Walnut Ridge, at which time speakers for this group criticized the Supreme Court decision relating to segregation in the public schools and urged those present to resist efforts to integrate public schools.

On October 13, 1955, the Hoxie School Board filed a complaint in United States District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas, Jonesboro Division, against [redacted] White America Inc., the Citizens Committee, representing segregation in the Hoxie schools, [redacted] and White Citizens Council of Arkansas, and requested a temporary restraining order enjoining all defendants and their agents from

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interfering with lawful administration of the Hoxie School District. After a hearing before Federal Judge THOMAS C. TRIMBLE, Little Rock, October 14, 1955, a temporary restraining order was issued. A hearing on plaintiffs motion for a temporary injunction was issued on October 20, 1955. At the hearing on October 20, Judge TRIMBLE continued the temporary injunction and requested appropriate briefs be prepared on the question of jurisdiction. On October 31, 1955, Judge TRIMBLE held that the Federal Court had jurisdiction in the Hoxie School issue and granted a temporary injunction against all defendants with the exception of [redacted] enjoining them from interfering with the further operation of the Hoxie School District. December 8, 1955, was set as the date for hearing on the petition for a permanent injunction.

On October 9, 1955, the North Little Rock, Arkansas school board voted to begin integration in the public schools within two years at the highschool level. Representatives of the NAACP and White America Inc., were present at the board meeting.

The Little Rock School Board, at a meeting on August 4, 1955, rejected a plea by the NAACP to begin integration in the Little Rock schools in 1955 and announced its intention to begin integration at the highschool level in September, 1957.

On August 7, 1955, presidents of five of the seven white Arkansas institutions of higher learning announced they would comply with a ruling of Attorney General T. J. GENTRY, that the United States Supreme Courts decision regarding segregation in the public schools would also apply to the State institutions of higher learning.

A Pulaski County Special School District Board announced at a meeting on August 9, 1955, that no integration plans for any county schools were presently being considered by the board.

A petition was filed with the Walnut Ridge school board, September 2, 1955, by the NAACP requesting an end to racial segregation in Walnut Ridge by the start of the 1956-1957 school year.



On September 14, 1955, Assistant State Education Commissioner, ED McCUISTION, reportedly stated that separate but equal facilities for Negro and white school children "are out" and that school officials in Arkansas had been advised to take an inventory of their services and facilities with an eye toward eventual compliance with the U. S. Supreme Court decision, outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

On September 16, 1955, the NAACP reportedly asked for immediate integration in the schools of the Hulbert-West Memphis, Arkansas school district.

Articles in the Arkansas Democrat of October 15, 1955, reported that the Biggers-Reyno, Arkansas School District Board would on October 14, 1955, rescind a racial integration order and had decided to continue segregation in the schools. This article reported that White America Inc., had offered to pay \$150 toward the expenses of two Negro students who would be sent to school at Pocahontas and Jonesboro, Arkansas.

Biggers-Reyno School Board members have advised that the integration order was not rescinded but was merely made voluntary on the part of the Negroes in the school district.

On October 5, 1955, Federal Judge JOHN E. MILLER referring to a suit against the Bearden Arkansas School District, filed in 1952 by a member of the district, said that he expected to order integration in that district within a year. Judge MILLER reportedly told the Bearden School District that the Court will not sanction or approve any segregation on a racial basis.

On October 13, 1955, a rally scheduled by White Citizens Council of Arkansas for Star City, Arkansas, was cancelled following a petition by residents of Star City, requesting that the meeting not be held. Sheriff TEBB COGBILL reportedly stated that the people didn't want this meeting held because it would serve no useful purpose and only stir up trouble.

On October 17, 1955, the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council of Human Relations was held at the Gardner Memorial Methodist Church, North Little Rock, Arkansas. The principle speaker at this meeting discussed the integration question and called for community action to bring about a peaceful end to segregation.

On October 28, 1955, a suit was filed in Federal Court, Fort Smith, Arkansas, by the NAACP in behalf of nineteen Negro children seeking to force racial integration in the public schools of Van Buren, Arkansas. Plaintiffs in this suit asked for a temporary injunction, to be made permanent later, to keep school officials from denying the students their rights, privileges and immunities under the United States Constitution and laws.

The Fort Smith Arkansas high school, and the Russellville high school reportedly have cancelled scheduled football games with the Fayetteville integrated high school because the Fayetteville integrated high school has Negro players on the football team.

There has been no information developed which would indicate that any of the pro-segregation organizations mentioned above would sanction violence in achieving their objectives. With the exception of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations which favors integration in the schools and the Hoxie Committee on Community relations organized to support the Hoxie School District in its decision to integrate the Hoxie Schools, no anti-segregation organizations have been formed in the Little Rock territory.

Any pertinent information received relating to racial tension in connection with segregation groups and their opposites will immediately be furnished the Bureau.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/15/55

FROM : SAC, Kansas City

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60267NLS/EP  
919421 LSH

Reference is made to Bulet to Atlanta dated 10/28/55 wherein the Bureau requested that they be furnished a brief summary of the racial situation in the various Divisions receiving copies of that communication.

This is to advise that [redacted] Executive Secretary, Commission on Human Relations, 25th floor city hall, Kansas City, Mo., advised on 11/14/55 that of the approximate total of 500,000 population in Kansas City, Mo., 65,000 of these individuals are non white residents. He stated, however, that of the 65,000 only a very small minority were persons other than of the negro race.

[redacted] stated that non segregation actually went into effect in some degree in September of 1954 when two schools of the Kansas City School System, i.e., the Kansas City Junior High School and the Manual Vocational High School, were integrated. He stated that in September of 1955 the rest of the schools in the Kansas City School System were integrated. There are 78 grammar schools in Kansas City and 14 high schools.

[redacted] stated, however, that complete integration is in the technical sense of the word due to the fact that there are numerous schools, both grammar and high schools located in geographic areas in Kansas City, Mo., which do not have both negro and white students. He stated, however, that this is due strictly to the fact that there are some areas in Kansas City, Mo., which are completely white and others which are completely colored; consequently, in these areas there are no students other than of one race.

[redacted] stated that potential for racial violence in Kansas City is at a minimum due to the fact that extensive planning has been undertaken with the Kansas City, Mo., Police

RGB/hmg  
(4)

105-00

1 cc: KC 105-476

REGISTERED MAIL

RECORDED-42

EX-125

NOV 17 1955

INT. SEC.

To: Director, FBI

11/15/55

Re: Citizens Councils and States' Rights Movements  
Internal Security - X

Department to immediately handle any racial disturbance. He stated that to date there has been no racial incident occur in Kansas City, Mo., due to the integration of colored and white. To date there has been one organization formed in Kansas City, Mo., which has stated it is against integration.

The name of this organization is the Association for Segregation and State Rights Inc., Post Office Box 533, Kansas City 41, Missouri. The Bureau has been previously advised of the formation of this organization and a report is currently being prepared setting forth all information in possession of the Kansas City Office.

For the information of the Bureau, information has been received by the Kansas City Office to the effect that this organization was incorporated under the General Not For Profit Corporation Act of Missouri on 9/13/55. Complete information concerning this corporation is presently being obtained by the Kansas City Office.

[redacted] advised that no information has come to his attention that any special organizations have been formed in the state of Kansas or in the western half of Missouri.

There has been no information obtained by the Kansas City Office indicating that there has been any influence exerted by the Communist Party in this Division concerning this issue.

The Bureau will be promptly furnished any pertinent information received relative to racial tension in connection with instant matter.

Delay in this matter was occasioned by the illness of [redacted] who was not available for interview until 11/14/55.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: November 14, 1955

FROM : *CV* SAC, Miami (100-13407)SUBJECT: *140* CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/13/01 BY 60267 NLS

916421

EPILm

ReBulet to Atlanta dated October 28, 1955,  
instructing that a succinct summary of the racial situation  
in the Miami territory be submitted no later than November 14,  
1955.

## - INCIDENTS ARISING IN CONNECTION WITH SEGREGATION PROBLEM -

On February 16, 1955, [redacted]  
[redacted] of Sorrento, Florida, furnished the  
following information to Special Agents ROBERT K. LEWIS and  
[redacted] This information has been synopsisized  
for this letter and complete details can be secured by re-  
ferring to the report of Special Agent [redacted]  
dated February 19, 1955, at Miami, Florida, in the matter  
entitled, [redacted] ET AL -  
VICTIMS, "CIVIL RIGHTS."

[redacted] advised that they, along  
with their family moved to Mount Dora, Florida, from [redacted]  
[redacted] in October, 1954. One son, three  
daughters, and a niece entered Mount Dora public school.  
The [redacted] alleged that Sheriff WILLIS V. McCALL, of Lake  
County, Florida, told them on October 20, 1954, that it was  
his opinion that there is Negro blood in the [redacted] family and  
the family should not attend white schools. The [redacted] state  
that there is no Negro blood present in the family and they  
have always considered themselves white. They attended white  
school and church in South Carolina.

On February 17, 1955, Sheriff WILLIS V. McCALL in-  
formed that he was responsible for suggesting that the [redacted]  
children not attend white school inasmuch as his investigation  
had disclosed that the [redacted] are Croatan. Webster's  
Dictionary defines Croatans as mixed Negro-Indian and white  
blood. [redacted] said that the [redacted] attended Croatan school

Registered Mail

LOP:lc  
(3)

23 NOV 13 1955

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EXP. PROC.

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Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

in South Carolina. McCALL appeared at the Lake County School Board meeting on October 25, 1954, and furnished the results of his investigation, following which the School Board ordered the Mount Dora School principal to strike the names of the [ ] children from the rolls inasmuch as they are Croatans. The [ ] children are presently receiving tutoring at their residence in Orange County, Florida.

On January 3, 1955, [ ] wrote to the offices of Governor LEROY COLLINS in Tallahassee, Florida, and requested an investigation concerning the status of his children. Following this request, Governor COLLINS instructed a special investigator to make a complete investigation into the matter and furnish him with a written report. Following the receipt of the results of this investigation, Governor COLLINS wrote to [ ] on January 27, 1955, suggesting that [ ] present his problem to a court of competent jurisdiction for a speedy, fair and impartial trial.

The Tampa Morning Tribune for October 5, 1955, carried an article stating that a pre-trial conference has been set for October 18, 1955, before Circuit Judge TRUMAN G. FUTCH, at Tavares, Florida, in the matter of ALLEN PLATT versus the Lake County School Board.

\* \* \* \* \*

On July 19, 1955, [ ] City Attorney, Daytona Beach, Florida, advised that on June 29, 1955, a crowd of Negroes had proceeded to the Daytona Municipal Beach, and proceeded to bathe at the beach in front of the Daytona Plaza Hotel. Following this demonstration, a petition was submitted to the City Commission on July 18, 1955, by numerous white citizens in Daytona, urging that an emergency ordinance be considered; which ordinance would be designed to prevent the co-mingling of the races on Daytona Beach. The purpose of the ordinance would be to prevent threats of violence and possible rioting resulting in the co-mingling of the races. The City Commission took the petition under consideration and appointed a three-man inter-racial advisory committee to study the matter.

\* \* \* \* \*



Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

On July 11, 1955, Deputy Sheriff [redacted] Brevard County Sheriff's Office, at Cocoa, Florida, advised that he had received numerous complaints from home owners in the Cocoa Beach, Florida area regarding the use of Cocoa Beach by Negroes in the recent past. Deputy Sheriff [redacted] said that over the week end of July 4, 1955, a crowd estimated at about seven hundred Negroes had appeared on the beach at Cocoa. They were not only using the beach but were going on the property of white persons to relieve themselves. [redacted] said that the complaints received by him had been general in nature and no specific persons were named or mentioned. The beach area used by the Negroes has in the past been uninhabited, but is now being rapidly built up due to the growth and expansion of Patrick Air Force Base.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Miami Daily News for September 13, 1955, carried an article captioned, "Segregation Leader Irked at TV Ban." According to this article, an organization operating under the name of ~~FLA.~~ FLORIDA STATES RIGHTS, INC. was banned by Television Station WITV a few hours before it was to have broadcast at 9:00 PM on September 12, 1955. The article said that the FLORIDA STATES RIGHTS, INC. is a group formed in Miami in July, 1955, for the announced purpose of maintaining the institution of segregation in Florida. W. HAYDEN HAMILTON, JR., an advocate of passive resistance to integration, is President of the group, and the Vice-President is ROY TALMADGE LUTTRELL, a former Ku Klux Klan leader of Hialeah, Florida.

[redacted] Television Station WITV, said that the station would have lost its license if it had permitted HAMILTON to make the inflammatory statements contained in a partial script which was submitted in advance of the show. HAMILTON denied that the script was inflammatory and stated that in the script he had noted that segregation was "a God-given right."

\* \* \* \* \*

The Miami Herald for October 22, 1955, carried an article captioned, "Sarasota Negroes Scorn Own Beach; To Use Them All." This article said that Sarasota Negroes had

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

staged a demonstration at the Sarasota Municipal DiLido Beach on September 25, 1955, and they followed with another demonstration three days later on September 28, 1955. Still a larger demonstration was put on on October 2nd when about one hundred Negroes journeyed to the Beach in a twenty car motorcade and proceeded to use the beach facilities.

The article set forth that following this demonstration, the Sarasota County Commissioners appointed a bi-racial committee to handle the problem and offered to open a separate beach for Negroes on Long Boat Key. This offer was rejected by the Negroes' spokesman and leader, NEIL HUMPHRIES, the head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Sarasota, Florida. HUMPHRIES announced that the Negroes would not only visit DiLido Beach but would visit and utilize every public beach whenever they felt like doing so.

\* \* \* \* \*

- ORGANIZATIONS FORMED TO PERPETUATE SEGREGATION -

FLORIDA STATES RIGHTS, INC., aka STATES RIGHTS ASSOCIATION

Miami Confidential Informant [ ] has reported concerning this organization in 1954 and 1955. A synopsis of the information furnished by [ ] in this period of time is as follows:

The FLORIDA STATES RIGHTS, INC. is operating only in Miami, Florida, and is under the leadership of WILLIAM HAYDEN HAMILTON, who serves as President, and ROY TALMADGE LUTTRELL, Vice-President. [ ]

\* \* \* \* \*

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

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CITIZENS COUNCILS OF FLORIDA

The following is a synopsis of information furnished in 1955 by Miami Informants [ ] and [ ]. Both of these Informants have furnished reliable information in the past, and advised that the CITIZENS COUNCILS OF FLORIDA [ ]

The activity of the St. Petersburg Council was recently given considerable publicity by the St. Petersburg press when this group circulated petitions requesting continued segregation in the public schools and presented these petitions to the Pinellas County School Board on October 12, 1955.

JEFFERSONIAN ASSOCIATION

On June 21, 1955, Miami Confidential Informant [ ] who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported that this organization was organized by 43 individuals in Jacksonville, Florida. The first meeting was held in the Seminole Hotel, at which time the purpose of the group was announced as being identical with the purpose of the National Association for the Advancement of White People. Literature secured by this Informant shows that this group is opposed to intermingling of the races under any circumstances.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE, INC.

Miami Confidential Informant [ ] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

January 19, 1955, that there is ~~one~~ <sup>NAACP</sup> chapter of this group operating in the Jacksonville area. It is known as the Second District Chapter of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE, INC., and has a membership of approximately seventy persons. The Informant said that this group is advocating segregation of the races under all circumstances.

\* \* \* \* \*

In addition to these organizations, there are three Klan groups operating in Florida; namely, the ASSOCIATION OF FLORIDA KLANES, THE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, and a new group recently organized within the past sixty days under the name of KU KLUX KLAN.

All of these organizations maintain that they are opposed to the use of force and violence in fighting prosegregation or anti-segregation activities. No information has been received from Informants that would indicate their activities have been of a violent nature.

- ORGANIZATIONS FOR DISSOLVING SEGREGATION -

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

The Miami Herald for February 18, 1955, carried an article under Tampa dateline captioned, "Suit Hinted by NAACP." This article contained information released by FRANCISCO A. RODRIGUEZ, Tampa Negro Attorney and Legal Redress Chairman for the Florida Conference of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. RODRIGUEZ announced that he had written to the Attorney General for the State of Florida, calling for an end to the construction of segregated schools throughout the State, and indicating that he would take legal action on behalf of the NAACP unless such construction was halted.

The Miami Daily News for September 3, 1955, carried an article captioned, "Dade NAACP to Call for Integration." This article said that the Dade County Chapter of the NAACP announced on that date that it will petition the Dade County School Board at Miami, Florida, to show clear and visible

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

effort to end segregation in the public schools in Dade County, Florida.

The Miami Herald for October 22, 1955, and the Miami Daily News for October 25, 1955, both carried articles concerning the activities of Negro leaders in the Sarasota area who are endeavoring to have the Sarasota public beaches open for the use of all Negroes. Both of these articles said that the fight for freedom of the beaches by both races was being led by NEIL HUMPHRIES, head of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE in the Sarasota area.

The Miami Daily News for October 25, 1955, carried a news release issued by Doctor G. W. HAWKINS, President of the Miami Chapter of NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, which concerned the use of beaches in the Miami area by Negroes. The Negroes in Miami have a private beach located on Virginia Key, which is operated by Dade County. Speaking in reference to this beach, Doctor HAWKINS said that he did not know whether the Negroes in Miami were satisfied with this beach or not.

The Miami Herald for October 28, 1955, carried an article captioned, "NAACP's Top Topic: Integration." This article said that a State Conference of the NAACP representatives throughout the State of Florida was being held at the Lord Calvert Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida. Sixty-eight delegates from the sixty-eight branches of the NAACP in Florida, were in attendance for a three-day session. The article said that the primary topic for discussion during the entire session was the problem of integration of the races.

Work shop sessions were to be conducted on segregation in public facilities, with emphasis on the Sarasota Beach incident; segregation in the public schools; and segregation in interstate public transportation. The meeting planned to close with a public protest concerning the EMMETT TILL case, which occurred in Mississippi.

The Miami Daily News for October 31, 1955, carried an article captioned, "Ruling Hit by NAACP." This article stated that the State Conference for the NAACP had adopted a

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

resolution criticizing the recent Florida Supreme Court decision on school segregation. The particular decision of the Court said that time was necessary to bring about integration of the races in the schools, and the Court delayed a ruling on a petition by a Daytona Beach Negro who was seeking admission to the University of Florida Law School. No information is available concerning the potential for violence of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE in the State of Florida.

- OUTSIDE INFLUENCE EXERTED ON PRO-SEGREGATION  
BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY -

On October 24, 1955, an anonymous source furnished photographic reproductions of a letter in the possession of [redacted] State Chairman, District # 23, Communist Party, Headquarters, Dallas, Texas, to Special Agents LEON O. PRIOR and [redacted] of Miami, Florida.

This letter is dated September 29, 1955, and is as follows:

"TO ALL DISTRICTS

"Dear Comrades:

"Subject: Emmett Louis Till Lynching

"The freeing of the murderers of 14 year old Emmett Louis Till in a so-called Mississippi 'trial', and the marked increase of anti-Negro terror in the Deep South as well as in other parts of the country during the past months must become the immediate concern of the entire membership of the Communist Party; every district, every club, every member. The Emmett Till murder highlights the ends to which the Dixiecrats will go to defeat the growing desegregation and right to vote movement in the South. Popular indignation is widespread. Negro organizations, Negro leaders and the Negro press have sounded the alarm. If this important struggle is to be won, however, the Communist Party, and the American Left, in the first place, must be fully mobilized.



11/14/55

"Notwithstanding important work already being done by the Party and the Left around the Emmett Till case, the de-segregation, and right to vote movement, we must frankly state that the initiative of the Party on these vital struggles is far from satisfactory. Thus far, insufficient leadership, consciousness, planning, follow through and check-up are being displayed on the part of Party and Left leadership at all levels. If victory is to be achieved in this crucial fight, these weaknesses must be speedily overcome."

"We submit below a number of proposals and suggestions for consideration and action by the Party:

"1--Fundamental issues of great importance to the American labor movement, the Negro people, the fight for democracy and peace are involved in this fight. No attempt will be made here to examine these issues. Such an examination is being made in a basic statement of the National Committee on the Till lynching. This statement will be issued this week, and is one that should be given thorough consideration by the Party Leadership and membership in every District. The National Committee Statement, in addition to being published in the Press, is being reproduced in leaflet form. These leaflets may be secured from the National Office at a cost of \$\_\_\_\_\_ per thousand. We urge the widest possible distribution of the leaflets, and that all Districts order as quickly as possible.

"2--Develop the Movement to Force the Eisenhower Administration to Intervene: This requires hundreds of thousands of postcards, telegrams, letters, petitions and resolutions to the President and Attorney General Brownell from individuals and organizations. This means trade union bodies in the first place at all levels, labor leaders, and rank and file members; it means, likewise, involving, at all levels, church and religious institutions, the major Jewish organizations,

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

"Democratic Party organizations; the youth movement; cultural groups; as well as the major organizations of the Negro people. In addition, full support should be given to delegations now being organized to visit Washington. Many leading Negro people and their organizations are working on such delegations. In addition to this, the Party and the Left should stimulate in every way possible the organization of such delegations. Particularly is this desirable from nearby points in the East.

"An important aspect of this movement is to petition City Councils in all parts of the country to urge Brownell to act. There is no doubt whatever but that many City Councils will act if the necessary efforts are made, and if the broadest possible approach is developed. Likewise, the movement to force action from the Department of Justice will grow still further, if leading personalities in Negro life, from the labor movement, etc., were to purchase newspaper space in the metropolitan and Negro press to address open letters to the Attorney General and the President. In addition hundreds and thousands of memorial meetings are required. Already, Chicago, Cleveland, Harlem, Baltimore, and Detroit have witnessed large protest rallies involving tens of thousands. But these meetings must be seen as only the beginning. They must spread, until all major cities are included, as well as smaller towns and communities throughout the country. Likewise, organizations of all kinds should take up the Till murder in one or another manner -- a small memorial meeting; a brief discussion on an action program, or a resolution, etc.

"3--Project this struggle into the center of the preparation for the convening of Congress in January and of the 1956 elections, as well as for a special session of Congress: Among other things this requires a movement to challenge the right of Eastland to sit in the next session of Congress, as well as the Congressmen from Mississippi. They are in Congress illegally and should be ousted. The

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

"Eisenhower Administration must be forced to yield to the demands of the Negro people for a special session of Congress to pass anti-lynch and other civil rights legislation without delay. To win this demand the Democratic Party high command, still silent, must be compelled by the Labor and Negro people's movement to speak out in support of the demand of the Negro people for a special session of Congress. In this connection special emphasis should be given to the Henning's Committee hearings on Civil Rights. Also it is necessary to insist upon the intervention of the Judiciary Committees of both the House and the Senate.

"4--We are informed also that the newspaper Freedom is publishing a pamphlet on the Till murder and related issues, and that it will be off the press in a few weeks. Undoubtedly, this will be a pamphlet deserving of the support of those forces most concerned with this question.

"5--Develop still further the militant initiative of the Party and the Left: While fighting for the broadest possible unity of the Negro people and their allies in respect to this issue, we must avoid the error of construing this to mean tagging along after the reformist leadership in the labor and Negro movement. We must find the way, in the broadest and most flexible manner to advance the Party analysis of these events, showing at all times the need for a greater focus on Brownell, and a more rounded program of demands. The huge protest rallies thus far, while marking a high point in the unity and militancy of the Negro people, reflect at the same time certain important weaknesses in regards to the program of demands being advanced, and in regard to the all-important matter of demanding immediate action from the Department of Justice. A central responsibility of the Party and the Left is to work with this movement to overcome these negative factors.

"The Party and the Left at the same time must speak out independently, finding the most suitable

Director, FBI (Cont'd)

11/14/55

"forms for independent actions. One of these forms would be to give full support to weekend Worker mobilizations that are being organized in a number of cities, where the fight for Worker circulation is tied up with house-to-house or street corner canvassing of telegrams, etc. on the Till murder. Another form is through the organization of mass meetings of a Left or advance character. There are a number of leading Negro and white progressive leaders who are no doubt available to participate in such meetings. In addition the Party and Left forces must intensify many times the publication and distribution of material on the Till murder and related issues. There are some Districts where practically no material has been issued. In still others the few leaflets issued have been confined primarily to the Negro communities.

"We urge all District Boards and other leading Party Committees and Commissions to examine fully the work of the District thus far in respect to the struggles around the Till murder, with the aim of overcoming whatever errors exist, and hammering out a full District program of action for the period ahead.

"Please be sure to send us copies of whatever material you issue in this matter.

"Comradely yours,

"/t/ NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE"

\* \* \* \* \*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Transmit the following Teletype message to: BUREAU (105-34237)

FBI LITTLE ROCK 11-10-55 AIRTEL

DIRECTOR AIR MAIL

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI;  
ROBERT B. PATTERSON  
I S - X

ReBu Airtel 10-10-55 and LR Airtel 10-13-55.

JAMES D. JOHNSON interviewed Crossett, Arkansas,  
by SA'S [redacted] and [redacted] Stated that he  
would not voluntarily make recording available to agents.

Report follows.

END

AMB/rp  
(7)

cc: 1 - NEW ORLEANS (105-492)  
1 - MEMPHIS (105-121)

Mr. Belmont

RECORDED - 72

105-34237-85

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/13/01 BY 40247 WLS

9/13/01 K11/WW

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A. M. S. D.	
SPEC. DEL.	
REG. MAIL	
REGISTERED	

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III  
Director, FBI

November 16, 1955

RECORDED - 72

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS'  
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI;  
ROBERT B. PATTERSON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
(Your reference 144-2-130;  
144-9-193, MWH)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

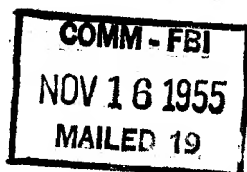
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60247M25  
A 916421 R/L/KM

Reference is made to my memorandum of  
October 19, 1955.

Our Little Rock Office has recontacted  
Mr. James D. Johnson, Crossett, Arkansas, at which  
time Mr. Johnson stated that he would not voluntarily  
make the recording available to the Agents.

In view of the above, no further action  
by this Bureau is being taken in an effort to obtain  
a copy of the recording unless specifically advised  
to the contrary by you.

WMA:ecb  
(4)



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

68 NOV 21 1955



Office Memorandum

m • UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/14/55

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (105-321)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Re Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/28/55.

Requested summary being prepared and will be mailed  
from Atlanta on November 18, 1955.

HEK:lcb

(3)

*Get out  
done 11/17/55*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/14/01 BY 60347NLS

915421 11/14/55

RECORDED - 19

NOV 18 1955

EX-125

INDEXED

Former [ ] of unknown reliability, advises that this group is made up of politicians, and that the aims and purposes of the organization are to fight desegregation. This informant advised on November 14, 1955 that another meeting would be held by this group on November 17, 1955 at the Georgia Power Company auditorium in Atlanta, Georgia. Informant stated that the headquarters for the organization continues to be at Augusta, Georgia.

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#### THE KU KLUX KLAN

The new organization headed by E. L. EDWARDS as Imperial Wizard, having a charter issued by the State of Georgia, operates as the U. S. Klans. This group most violently opposes desegregation or in any way the mixing of races in schools or public parks and places. The Ku Klux Klan has numerous klaverns in the Atlanta area and while, according to informants, E. L. EDWARDS desires to maintain segregation through lawful means and denounces violence, he and other officers of the Klan make the statement that there will be no mixing of races in the public schools of Georgia. The Klan at this time is primarily engaged in seeking publicity in an effort to increase its membership.

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Don't  
forget*

Former PSI [ ] of [ ] advised on August 15, 1955 that a Negro father, name unknown, reportedly attempted to register his children for attendance in the white schools in Walton County, Georgia, saying that he would not be willing to accept equal facilities but that he wanted the same facilities. Informant said he understood the Negro was most unpleasant and apparently was ready to make an issue of the matter. It will be noted that the Association of Georgia Klans, known as the old group, has two independent klaverns operating in the Atlanta area, one being at Lovejoy, Georgia, and the other at Social Circle, Georgia. [ ] stated that he was told that the Walton County incident was presented to the Social Circle klan, and that it was decided that the Negro would be asked to leave the county, and that if he did not he would be requested to leave the county, and if this failed his remains would be removed from the county. No further information has been received concerning this alleged incident.

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Former [ ] further advised on November 14, 1955 that this is the only states' rights council group presently operating in the Atlanta area, but that [ ] had received information which indicates that the Citizens Council of Mississippi will attempt to organize in Atlanta within the near future.

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THE CHRISTIAN ANTI-JEWISH PARTY

The Christian-Anti-Jewish Party, which is anti-Jewish and anti-Negro, continues from time to time to pass out literature in Georgia and Tennessee. They violently oppose the mixing of races, however, it would appear that this organization is almost completely dormant at the present time.

THE NATIONAL CITIZENS PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, INC.

The National Citizens Protective Association, Inc. states its purpose is for "racial purity, not amalgamation", claims some activity in the Albany, Georgia area, but, according to information obtained, has had little success.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE WHITE RACE, INC.

The National Association for the Preservation of the White Race, Inc., according to investigation, has no active chapter in the Atlanta Division at this time.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT AND PROTECTION OF THE MAJORITY OF THE WHITE PEOPLE, INC.

The National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of the White People, Inc., chartered at Griffin, Georgia, appears to be completely dormant at this time.

[redacted] organizer of this group, is reported in very bad health and unable to carry on with the organization.

There are no known organizations fighting segregation in the Atlanta area which are sponsored by the Communist Party, but it will be noted that the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation continues active in Atlanta. It will be further noted that in the speech made by Georgia Attorney General EUGENE COOK on October 19, 1955, as previously described, Mr. COOK made unfavorable remarks concerning the Southern Regional Council, and the Southern Regional Council prepared a statement entitled "The Attack on the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation".

Dr. GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL, 906 Lullwater Road, Atlanta, Georgia, advised on May 7, 1953 that he was Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. He stated that he wished to refute an allegation made in a periodical entitled, "One Methodist Voice", dated April 19, 1953, published at Clayton, Georgia, under the

editorship of BLAKE CRAFT, Clayton, Georgia, alleging that Dr. MITCHELL was a Communist Party sympathizer. Dr. MITCHELL stated he was not and had never been a member of the Communist Party or knowingly belonged to any Communist Party front organization. Dr. MITCHELL stated he considered himself to be anti-Communist, and believed the attack made upon him could be attributed to the fact that he was connected with the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. DAN D. ROSENFELDER, Director of Public Safety, Miami, Florida, made available in March of 1945, information to the effect that one of the main problems of the Southern Regional Council was that of international peace. Information furnished by ROSENFELDER further identified the Southern Regional Council as follows:

The Southern Regional Council was the outgrowth of the consciousness among progressive Southerners of the need for a Southwide agency for the promotion of constructive social and economic reforms. Another factor contributing to the formation of the Southern Regional Council was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences of 1942-1943, in which Southern leaders, white and Negro, met together to work for a better South. The Southern Regional Council was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 5, 1944, and held its charter meeting on February 16, 1944.

The Council represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. Although it is bi-racial in membership and staff, it is not exclusively a "race relations" organization. It believes in the improvement of economic, civic, political and educational conditions for the good of all the people.

The Southern Regional Council is a membership organization and is controlled by its members who make decisions on policy and program. The annual meeting is held in Atlanta, Georgia, on second Wednesday in October, and every member in good standing is entitled to vote either in person or by proxy. The Council is composed of a Board of Directors elected by the members; an Executive Committee and five standing committees; elected by the Board of Directors, and an Executive Staff which devotes its time to the promotion of the Council's program.

The Council believes the best methods for promoting social progress are honest discussion and cooperation, rather than agitation. Its functions are: (1) Research and survey to determine the facts and possibilities of constructive social

action; (2) Educational work through publications, press, radio and personal contacts; (3) Cooperation with other agencies having liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) Consultative services to private or public agencies, and (5) The formation of constructive plans and proposals for the South that could be.

The Council operates in thirteen Southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia. Its voting members reside in these states. While the Council has a "regional" approach, it is not a defensive organization. It has declared its willingness to cooperate with like-minded organizations of a state, regional or national scope.

According to information furnished by Mr. ROSENFELDER in March, 1945, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Regional Director, Congress of Industrial Organization-Political Action Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, was listed as one of the sixty members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.

In the April 12, 1947 issue of the "Atlanta News Digest", GEORGE S. MITCHELL, a former official of the Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture and more recently of the Congress of Industrial Organization-Political Action Committee, was described as being appointed the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation advised that during the latter part of July, 1944, while in the presence of GEORGE S. MITCHELL, LOUIS BURNHAM, Executive Secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, personally contacted MITCHELL in regard to a speech MITCHELL was to make at an undesignated place. This Special Agent stated that MITCHELL inquired from BURNHAM whether the aims of the Southern Negro Youth Congress were the same as those of the National Negro Congress, and BURNHAM replied that they were the same in substance.

MITCHELL, according to this Special Agent, stated he was not in accord with some of the leaders of the National Negro Congress.

The Southern Negro Youth Congress and the National Negro Congress have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation advised that GEORGE S. MITCHELL, prior to 1944, was in contact with [redacted] and personally contributed the sum of \$5.00 to [redacted] for use in an unknown campaign.



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/17/55

FROM : SAC, Atlanta (105-321)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/15/01 BY 60262 NLS ZP/

918421

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A summary of the racial situation within the Atlanta Division, comprising the Northern and Middle Districts of Georgia, has been prepared pursuant to Bulet to Atlanta dated 10/28/55. A copy is being designated for Savannah.

According to information furnished by informants, members of the Ku Klux Klan and other groups opposing desegregation state that they desire to fight on a legal basis, however, the Ku Klux Klan states there will be no mixing of races in Georgia schools and public places. Informants believe that these groups are taking a "wait and see attitude" before deciding what action to take.

The Bureau will continue to be kept advised regarding the racial situation in the Atlanta Division.

HEK:jjt

(4)

Encls. (2)

cc: Savannah (105-155) (Encl. 1)

REGISTERED MAIL

RECORDED - 26

EX - 107

SUMMARY OF RACIAL SITUATION IN ATLANTA  
DIVISION COMPRISING NORTHERN AND  
MIDDLE DISTRICTS OF GEORGIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/13/01 BY 40247ML3/EI/LHJ

November 17, 1955

916421

ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN SEGREGATION MATTERS

According to newspaper articles and information received from informants, desegregation in public schools and public places has been sponsored primarily by the NAACP. Attorney General EUGENE COOK, State of Georgia, denounced the NAACP in a speech made before the Peace Officers Association of Georgia in Atlanta on October 19, 1955, and since that time there have been numerous newspaper articles concerning statements made by COOK, as well as officials of the NAACP, concerning segregation in schools and public parks in Georgia. It will be noted that Attorney General COOK states that it is contrary to the Constitution of the State of Georgia to appropriate money to finance mixed schools, and that the public schools in Georgia will be closed if mixed schools are attempted. According to an article of August 25, 1955 in the "Atlanta Constitution", a daily newspaper, a petition was filed by the local NAACP chapter, and thirteen Negro parents went to the Bibb County Board of Education, Macon, Georgia, requesting them to "take immediate steps to reorganize the public schools on a nondiscriminatory basis".

THE STATES RIGHTS COUNCIL, INC.

According to an article appearing in the "Atlanta Journal", a local newspaper, on September 24, 1955, the States' Rights Council, Inc., with ROY V. HARRIS of Augusta, Georgia as leader, opened a drive in Atlanta to obtain from 50,000 to 100,000 members to help keep segregation in Georgia. The article stated that the meeting was attended by some 200 political leaders, including Governor MARVIN GRIFFIN and former Governor HERMAN TALMADGE. CARTER L. PITTMAN, an Attorney of Dalton, Georgia, was elected President, who pledged that the council would oppose all organizations "which have been working for many years to destroy segregation in all phases of public and private activities". A resolution was passed saying that the council "refutes and repudiates the use of force, intimidation or any other unlawful or unchristian means in the attainments of its objective".

ENCLOSURE

SAC, New Orleans (105-492)

November 17, 1955

Director, FBI (105-34237)

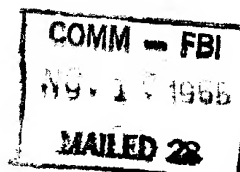
ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Re ONI letter dated October 24, 1955, captioned as above concerning William James Simmons, a Photostat of which was furnished your office on November 1, 1955. Reference is also made to New Orleans file 100-5208 captioned "William James Simmons, Internal Security - G." The New Orleans Office is instructed to be certain that pertinent data concerning Simmons mentioned above is included in the next report submitted on the captioned organization by your office.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/13/01 BY 60267WZ5E/LH7  
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Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



RECORDED-61

NOV 23 1955

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/18/55

FROM : SAC, HOUSTON (105-205)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/1/90 BY 60247WLS

ReBulet to Atlanta, 10/28/55.

In May of 1955 an organization known as the Southern Regional Conference on Integration met at Houston, Texas. This group numbered approximately 100 and appeared to be approximately one-half Negro and one-half white. A reliable informant advised that eleven of this number were former or present members of the Communist Party. The same informant also advised that this meeting was sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, also known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

It is noted that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities report of June 12, 1947, as a Communist front organization. It is further noted the secretary of this conference was [redacted] a state officer of the NAACP of Texas and a former member of the Communist Party in Houston. The above informant stated [redacted] had contacted two leading Communist Party officials in the Houston area prior to the meeting and requested the Communist Party's assistance at this conference.

On 8/12/55 at Orange, Texas, the Orange Citizens Council was formed. The alleged purpose of this council, as set forth in an open letter to a local Orange newspaper, "is to help keep our white and Negro schools separate". President of this council is listed as [redacted] who, immediately following the Supreme Court decision regarding segregation in public schools, organized a club known as the Moonlighters at Orange, Texas. This group was responsible for various cross burning incidents in the Orange area.

In early November of this year it was determined that a Citizens Council was being formed in the LaGrange, Texas, area. In connection with this it was further

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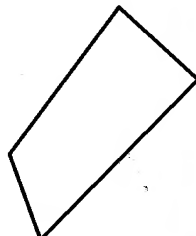
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determined that one of the state officials of the Citizens Council is located in LaGrange. Investigation is presently being conducted to ascertain the potential for violence of this group as well as any outside influence being asserted.

The only known pro-segregation group known to this office is that of the NAACP. Thus far there has been no indication of any possible violence being undertaken by this group. They have confined their efforts to the local Negro newspapers in Houston and various public statements.

SAC, New Orleans

November 21, 1955

Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES'  
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Enclosed is a Photostat of an article which appeared in the November 10, 1955, edition of "The Evening Star," a daily newspaper in Washington, D. C., concerning the formation of a Citizens Council to protest the assignment of Negro priests in the Archdiocese of New Orleans.

You are instructed to advise the Bureau the exact nature and scope of this organization in accordance with Bureau instructions contained in SAC Letter 55-66 dated October 25, 1955.

No active investigation should be conducted at this time concerning this Citizens Council; however, your inquiry should be confined to contacts with established reliable sources as outlined in the afore-mentioned SAC letter. The Bureau expects that the results of your inquiry in this instance will be submitted promptly.

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/15/01 BY 60247WAS

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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



0-19 (7-8-55)

## Group Protests Negro Priests

JESUIT BEND, La., Nov. 10 (AP).—Officials of the New Orleans Archdiocese today were faced with a petition being circulated by a group of Catholic laymen who formed a Citizens Council to protest assignment of Negro priests.

The chancery office had no comment on the development last night.

The Citizens Council was formed in little river towns south of New Orleans after Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel suspended services at Jesuit Bend when parishioners refused to let a Negro priest say mass.

Chapters have cropped up in many southern cities to resist integration.

The group announced that 100 persons showed up at an organizational meeting at Belle Chasse and more than 300 names have been obtained on a petition protesting assignment of Negro priests.

"The archbishop," said Arthur Bergeron, a leader on the movement, "is trying to compel us to go against the way we were raised and the things we believe in."

The petition said integration was contrary to church teaching and assignment of Negro priests was a step toward breaking down the segregation barriers.

"If no white priest is available, let the church remain closed," said Joseph Sendker, who presided over the session.

The archbishop last month took disciplinary action against the Jesuit Bend congregation when parishioners turned away the Rev. Gerald Lewis, a Negro priest assigned to help out in a shortage of priests.

His swift action was praised by the Vatican newspaper.

Catholic schools are segregated in the New Orleans Archdiocese, but Negroes regularly attend most churches in the diocese without regard to special seating arrangements. By custom, however, ~~most~~ of them take back pews.

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Boardman ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Harbo ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Sizoo ☒  
Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Mr. Holloman ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/15/01 BY 60267WJ/SK/9

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Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star A-70  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date NOV 11 1955

ENCLOSURE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11/18/55

FROM : *FH* SAC, MOBILE (105-167)SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60267NLS  
X 91542/ EP/whh

Re Bureau memo to Atlanta 10/28/55.

To date the racial situation within the Mobile territory has not brought forth any serious incidents. Two pro-segregation organizations were formed in this area, namely The Southerners Inc., and Citizens Councils of Alabama.

The Southerners Inc., Bufile 105-28906, was formed in Mobile in May, 1954 and advocated retention of segregation by lawful means. No indication of unlawful activity or inclination toward violence was noted. This organization has ceased activity due to lack of interest on the part of members and a closing report will be submitted.

Citizens Councils of Alabama, Bufile 105-33955, were organized in the fall of 1954 and have chapters in six counties. Leadership centers are in Selma, Alabama, where leaders are two well-known attorneys. No acts of violence have been noted and informants report that the Councils have a policy of engaging only in legal activity and will not condone violence.

No Negro organizations have been noted in opposition to the Citizens Councils, except of course the NAACP. One Communist Party member in Mobile, Alabama, indicated interest in the segregation matter and previously indicated that he would try to arrange attempts by Negroes to try and register in white public schools in the school year which began in September, 1955. However, he did not follow up on this and no attempts were made along these lines in the City of Mobile.

No major incidents of a racial nature have occurred. Two minor incidents which have been noted are set out:

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Director, FBI

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1) On 9/2/54, a white man, AUBREY WILLIAMS, JR., Montgomery, Alabama, took a number of Negro children to a white elementary school in Montgomery and attempted to assist them in registering at the school. The children were not allowed to register and the attorney for the group stated the matter would be taken into court. No violence occurred in connection with the matter and no further activity of this nature followed. (See report of SA WILBOR J. HUST. 9/10/54. Mobile, entitled, [REDACTED] UNKNOWN VICTIMS, CR."

2) On 8/29/55, a petition signed by 29 Negroes calling for admittance of Negro children in all-white school in Selma, Alabama, was presented to the City Superintendent of Education. Newspaper accounts 9/8/55 reflected that about 16 of the 29 had lost their jobs. M. ALSTON KEITH, Chairman of Citizens Council in Dallas County, noted, according to the news article, that some employers who fired signers of the petition are Council members and others are not. No violence was noted in connection therewith.

Any pertinent information received in the future relative to racial tension in connection with Citizens Councils or their opposites will be brought immediately to the attention of the Bureau.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

MEMPHIS

5/4,11;6/1,10;

REPORT MADE AT <b>MEMPHIS</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11-16-55</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>7/15;8/5;9/6, 7,14,27;10/5, 15,20/55</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>GEORGE A. EVERETT</b>	<b>BN</b>
TITLE <b>ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - X</b>	

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Annual report of Association of Citizens' Councils dated 8/55 reviews organization and general activity. New local Councils formed Clarksdale, Miss., 8/4/55; Greenville, Miss., 9/29/55; Tunica, Miss., 9/55; and Batesville, Miss., 10/18/55. Association reorganized on regional basis by Congressional Districts. State executive committee, district and county chairmen listed. HODDING CARTER, Greenville, Miss. Editor, states economic pressure being used to secure cooperation of white businesses. T-1 states Citizens' Councils anti-Communist and not connected with Ku Klux Klan. Monthly newspaper, "The Citizens Council," commenced publication 10/55. Link with Federation for Constitutional Government cited. Miscellaneous pamphlets copied disclose instructions on how to avoid contempt of court in Mississippi, how to form a local Citizens Council, population statistics, and quotation of a finance drive letter of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership. Copies of the White Sentinel, official organ of the National Citizens Protective Association, distributed by the Citizens Council.

AGENCY RAA, 8-2, 04, 051  
REQ. REC'D  
DATE FOR 12/5/55  
HOW FORN. RS  
BY CRW/18

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-11-90 BY 02851 J  
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## DETAILS:

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### I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANIZATION

Under date of September 6, 1955, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT received through the mail a four-page pamphlet entitled

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
COPIES OF THIS REPORT	
5 Bureau (105-34237) (RM)	
1 New Orleans (105-492) (Info)	
(RM)	
3 Memphis (105-121)	

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
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ME 105-121

"The Citizens Council," reporting to be the annual report of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, dated August, 1955, at Winona, Mississippi, which is as follows:

"ANNUAL REPORT

" In July 1954, the first Citizens' Council was formed in Indianola by 14 men, who met and counselled together on the terrible crisis precipitated by the United States Supreme Court in its Black Monday decision of May 17, 1954. For the first time in American history, racial segregation, the way of life regulating the daily activities of tens of millions of American citizens, black and white, in a well known pattern of familiar and satisfactory conduct, had been decreed illegal.

" Despite the long range dangers to our constitutional safeguards apparent to many men, North, South, East and West, in legislation by judicial fiat, the immediate and pressing danger to men and women in Mississippi and the rest of the South was the potential flood of negro invasion into our schools, parks, swimming pools, restaurants, hotels, trains, buses, into our very neighborhoods and homes, and into public office.

" To thoughtful men, concerned for the safety and welfare of their families and children's children, the prospect opened up by this politically inspired decree appeared utterly unthinkable.

" The best of prophets of the future is the past. History proves that the supreme power in the government of men has always been public opinion. Public sentiment is the law!

" These 14 men, having no idea that such a small beginning would in a few months' time expand miraculously into a virile and potent organization, worked out the basic ideas underlying the Citizens' Councils method of operation.

" The idea for the four committees was born: Membership and Finance, Legal Advisory, Political and Elections, Information and Education. Within the scope of these four fields of activity lies the real heart and muscle of the Citizens' Councils.

" The idea of solid and unified backing of circuit clerks, sheriffs, and local and state officials in the proper discharge of their sworn duties was worked out.

" The concept of assembling non-political community leadership into a unified body to provide the best thinking on the local level, dealing with local problems, became deeply rooted.

" It was acknowledged that the impending threat was of such magnitude that our elected officials would be unable to deal with it without the unyielding and organized support of thousands of responsible white citizens to counter the steadily mounting pressure and unceasing attacks from left-wing groups, which were and are liberally financed, skilled in revolutionary techniques that are literally a closed book to most of our political leaders, and irrevocably dedicated to our destruction.

" The word spread. Neighboring towns and counties heard of the plan, and began to organize. When some 20 counties had organized themselves, a State Association was formed to coordinate the separate efforts and to act as an information center.

" Speakers were made available to carry the message to interested groups and to civic clubs all over Mississippi and nearby sister states. A steady stream of printed information on the nature of the racial integration crisis was disseminated from the headquarters established at Winona.

" The first major accomplishment and the first project undertaken by our Councils on a state level was the passage of the Constitutional Amendment to raise voter qualifications in Mississippi. Although this same amendment failed to pass in 1952, it passed by a tremendous majority when the people of Mississippi, through the Citizens' Councils, were informed of the necessity and reason for the passage of this amendment. It is impossible to estimate the value of this amendment to future peace and domestic tranquility in this state.

" Our next major effort was the school amendment. On December 21st of last year the people of Mississippi passed the amendment that gave the Legislature the power to abolish public schools as a last resort in order to prevent racial integration in these schools. In passing this amendment we told the world in no uncertain terms that before we would submit to integration we would abolish our schools and set up state-supported private schools. Against organized opposition, the Citizens' Councils threw their strength behind the passage of this bill. The Council officers felt that if integration came to Mississippi our schools would automatically be destroyed, and we felt that this amendment was merely a legal statement of principle and fact that expressed the sentiment of the people of Mississippi.



" During the first year of existence, the Citizens' Councils have shown an impressive statistical growth. Today, in less than a year's time, there are 253 Citizens' Councils in Mississippi, with a white male membership of over 60,000. We have Councils organized in each Congressional District in the State. In addition, we have a ladies' auxiliary and many lady members of various Councils.

" The Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, backed by 60,000 members, has received national publicity, and your State Office is now corresponding regularly with interested Americans in forty-six states, Iceland, Alaska, South Africa and Mexico. This is evidence of the potential strength of this movement.

" Your State Office has published many fine writings, pamphlets, documents and other literature which give concrete, convincing reasons for the absolute necessity of maintaining segregation in the Nation. We have mailed this literature into all forty-eight states and to every civic and patriotic organization in every county in Mississippi, as well as to interested individuals and public officials in every county in Mississippi and in every state in the Union. We are mobilizing public opinion so that it may express itself from every direction against every attempt at integration. We are attempting to present the case for segregation to the entire Nation, as well as to the South.

" Members and officials of the State Association have traveled in nine Southern states telling them what we have accomplished in Mississippi and helping them to organize. We are exchanging ideas and methods to be used in the battle that lies ahead. Citizens' Councils have been formed in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and Missouri have similar organizations. From everywhere comes encouragement and moral support for our righteous cause.

" While certain Council members may feel that they have contributed very little as individuals, the fact that they have organized and have developed a voting membership has given your State Office the numbers necessary to prove that we mean business, and their dues have helped finance our state-wide movement.

" Many of our local Councils have anticipated and prevented racial tensions from developing in their communities. We have proven to our negro citizens that the NAACP is a left-wing, power-mad organ of destruction that cares nothing for



ME 105-121

"the negro. We have the support of the thinking conservative negro people who believe in segregation and who have pride in their race. We want to help them develop racial pride in a segregated society.

" Representatives of the State Association have made hundreds of talks and speeches before Councils and groups of all sizes, kinds and descriptions, from the small crossroads school-house meeting attended by 25 God-fearing and determined farmers to massive rallies numbering in the thousands.

" Press relations have been established with the newspapers, wire services, radio and TV stations in the state. Editorial support as well as adequate and fair news treatment has been noted. A surge in membership in many Councils in recent months has been attributed to favorable front page news treatment pursuant to the filing of demands by the NAACP upon the public schools in Vicksburg, Jackson, Natchez, and Clarksdale.

" Independent investigations have been conducted by Councils in some instances in connection with the filing of these demands, and the inroads of the NAACP upon local negro sentiment have been severely checked. School officials have been bolstered considerably by Council efforts in this direction, and by the creation of a strong moral tone of unified public resistance to the arrogant behavior of the NAACP.

" An outstanding accomplishment of the Citizens' Council movement that has become increasingly acknowledged is the channelling of popular resistance to integration into lawful, coherent and proper modes, and the prevention of violence or racial tension.

" The contrast between the right kind of organization and no organization has been particularly noted in some other states which have been slow to take forethought of the future of race relations within their boundaries.

"We Must Strengthen and Build Our Organization for  
a Long, Hard Fight . . .

" It is the duty and responsibility of every Citizens' Council member to encourage his friends and relatives in other counties and states to organize so that they can do their part in this righteous cause. Organized aggression must be met with organized resistance. The NAACP, CIO and other left-wing groups

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"are well organized and highly financed. There are 40 million white Southerners and only 250 thousand members of the NAACP in the entire Nation. Forty million white Southerners, or a fraction thereof if properly organized, can be a power in this Nation, but they must be thoroughly organized from the town and county level up. It must be an organization supported and controlled by the people and not by any politician or political party. The Citizens' Councils think and plan as a group and then they are able to act as individuals within their various churches, schools and any other organization to which they may belong. This has already proven effective in the various church denominations in Mississippi. The issue is segregation and States' Rights. We can not argue and fight among ourselves over methods and personalities.

" The Black Monday decision of the Supreme Court should unite the South more solidly than any other issue. Counties and towns that have not organized should take pride in organizing so that others will not have to bear their burden for them. A man should be just as proud to serve in this cause as he would be in military service for this country.

" The fate of this Nation may rest in the hands of the Southern white people today. If we white Southerners submit to this unconstitutional judge-made law of nine political appointees, the malignant powers of mongrelization, communism and atheism will surely destroy this Nation from within. Racial intermarriage has already begun in the North and unless stopped will spread to the South.

" Integration represents darkness, regimentation, totalitarianism, communism and destruction. Segregation represents the freedom to choose one's associates, Americanism, state sovereignty and the survival of the white race. These two ideologies are now engaged in mortal conflict and only one can survive. They cannot be fused any more than day can exist in night. The twilight of this great white nation would certainly follow. "Choose ye this day whom you will serve."

R. B. PATTERSON, Executive  
Secretary"

ASSOC. OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS  
"FINANCE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT OF MISS.

" From the very beginning your State Office has been and is now operating on a day-to-day basis. How so much has been accomplished is a mystery to me. It speaks well for the patriotism

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"and patience of our Executive Secretary.

" Your directors request and urge that all Councils, beginning with January 1, 1956, put their membership on a calendar year basis; collect all dues in November and remit to the State Office at least \$1.00 for each member of each Council. Some Councils, appreciating the great work being done at the state level--and most of the work is being done there--have passed resolutions to remit \$2.00 per member. It is hoped that other Councils will do likewise.

" If we can get in these dues, all of them, not later than January 1, 1956, we will then know what we have to work with and can budget ourselves accordingly.

" Frankly, we must get organized on a business-like basis. Our cause is too vital to have to be worried about whether we can pay salaries and expenses for next week or next month, as has been the case heretofore.

" It is the world's tragedy that anyone starting a movement like ours has to battle all the way for funds, whereas anyone starting a left-wing movement advocating mongrelization can get all the financial aid and publicity required. Our fight is moving upstream, and although its progress is slow, this progress is, nevertheless, definite.

" Each Council will be sent sufficient 1956 membership cards. These cards are in three parts, one for member, one for local Council, and one for the State Office, and they are numbered. This will be a much better record for all concerned and in addition, the State Office will have the actual name of every member in Mississippi.

ELLETT LAWRENCE, Finance Chairman

"PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Black Monday--Judge Tom P. Brady's book-----\$1.00

Pamphlets

A Christian View on Segregation---An address by Rev. G. T. Gillespie, D. D., President Emeritus of Belhaven College, Jackson, Mississippi, before the Synod of Mississippi of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. -- \$6.00 per hundred

Conflicting Views on Segregation--Reprints of a Series of

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" letters between Dr. D. M. Nelson, President of Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi, and an unnamed alumnus---  
\$6.00 per hundred.

A Review of Black Monday -- An address by Judge Tom P. Brady of the Fourteenth Circuit Court District, made to the Indianola Citizens' Council -- \$5.00 per hundred

The Citizens' Council -- Its aims, objectives, and plan of organization -- \$3.00 per hundred

-----  
"TO ALL WHITE MEN AND WOMEN IN JACKSON

(From The Jackson Daily News, Jackson, Miss.)

" On Monday the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the radical Negro organization dominated by Communist-front leaders, threw down the gage of battle at Vicksburg. The NAACP states it will file similar petitions demanding the ending of segregation in the public schools in Jackson, Clarksdale and Natchez by August 1st.

" Thurgood Marshall, mulatto chief counsel for the NAACP, threatens to sue not only county by county, but school by school, to drive the entering wedge in every community of the land. The NAACP is dedicated to widening this wedge, which was handed them by a subversive Supreme Court, to include integration of the white and Negro races in every conceivable phase of daily life.

" Based on the accomplishments of the NAACP to date, there is every reason to expect that an all-out attempt will be made. In concert with their well positioned allies in the CIO-PAC, ADA, Federation Council of Churches, Committee for an Effective Congress, The Advance (Republican ADA), the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, and a host of others, we may expect that less resolute sections of the South will permit themselves the humiliation of de-segregation.

" Many 'liberals' to the contrary notwithstanding, there is nothing mysterious or 'inevitable' about the campaign of the NAACP dating from 1909 to accomplish its socialistic aims by de-segregating us. We are simply seeing the results of skilled

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"and ruthless exploitation by leftists of Negro bloc-voting in the key Northern states.

" There is only one way to meet the attack of the NAACP. Organized aggression must be met by organized resistance.

" If the declaration of war issued by the NAACP at Vicksburg means anything, it means that a mandate has been hurled at the white people of Mississippi to organize IMMEDIATELY.

" In Jackson we are fortunate indeed. A group of public-spirited men who did not propose to sit supinely by and say to the NAACP, 'Come on and integrate us,' formed the Jackson Citizens' Council. In full knowledge of Jackson's position in the state, they made considerable sacrifice of time, effort and resources to give this Council its fine beginning, and to set an example of firmness and determination.

" Men like Ellis W. Wright, C. H. (Dick) King, Marvin Collum and dozens of other civic leaders provided a levelheaded and impeccable leadership that any man or woman should be proud to be identified with, particularly in such a cause.

" The Daily News is not alone in urging that immediate organization be formed to wage the fight we are facing.

" In a recent speech Senator James O. Eastland said:

'It is essential that a nation-wide organization be set up. It will be a people's organization, an organization not controlled by fawning politicians who cater to organized racial pressure groups. A people's organization to fight the Court, to fight the C.I.O., to fight the N.A.A.C.P., and to fight all the conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction. We will mobilize and organize public opinion. We will attempt to pledge candidates in advance as they attempt to pledge them.

'We are about to embark upon a great crusade, a crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people. In addition, our organization will carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise and we will fight those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry, and the great medical profession of this country. This will give us recruits and add to our support in the North and West.

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"Before God, I now make the people of Mississippi this solemn promise: I will carry it in the North as well as in the South. We have no other alternative. The choice is between victory and defeat. Defeat means death, the death of Southern culture and our aspirations as an Anglo-Saxon people. With strong leadership and the loyalty and fortitude of a great people, we will climb the heights. Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize that the fight we now wage, will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory.'

" Clearly and unequivocally, Senator Eastland issues a clarion call for mobilization. It is a call that should not be unheeded. It should sink into the hearts of all Anglo-Saxon people in this community and elsewhere in the South.

" The Jackson Citizens' Council has opened its membership drive on a systematic scale. It ought to have 10,000 members, men and women, in Jackson. There is every reason to expect that it will, unless the people of Jackson have forgotten how to recognize the evil face of personal tyranny, and what is more vital, unless they have forgotten how to fight it.

" We call on every white man and woman in Jackson, here and now, to declare himself and take his stand. If you believe that segregation provides the only stable arrangement for mutual respect and right conduct between the races, then you owe it to yourself, to your friends and neighbors, and to your children and grandchildren, and to those yet unborn, to get in touch immediately with the Jackson Citizens' Council headquarters at the Walthall Hotel and JOIN NOW.

" The clock is about to strike. It is already 11:30.

FREDERICK SULLENS

#### LAND OF ONE RACE

" In Brazil, you will find blue eyes and black skin, flat skulls with triangular faces, hair plated in pigtailed, white babies at the breasts of colored mothers, colored babies at the



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"breasts of white mothers and colors running from ebony to eggshell via copper, olive, caramel, and banana.

" A mixture of this sort has made any attempt at racial segregation out of the question in Brazil--because no one could possibly tell where white begins and black ends.

" Brazil has long since passed the rest of the world in its race relations. The so-called race problem simply does not exist in Brazil." - Washington Afro-American News

" Is this to be the fate of our beloved Nation, decreed by nine political appointees to impress the Asiatics and using as their authority the writings of Socialist and Communist tinged authors?

" This amalgamation has already begun in the North, but it can be checked by an aroused public opinion to nullify this infamous BLACK MONDAY decree.

---

"\$1.50 per 100 reprints of above.

#### OUR OWN NEWSPAPER

" For quite some time, your Directors have been studying the feasibility of a newspaper for the Citizens' Councils. They have long realized that a paper would be the very best medium possible for the dissemination of news for an about your Council.

" However, starting a newspaper is a big undertaking. It costs a lot of money. In addition, it would necessitate the employment of additional help since Mr. Patterson is already doing the work of some three or four men.

" This newspaper would have still been in the 'Studying stage' had it not been that Mr. W. J. 'Bill' Simmons, unpaid Administrator of the State Council and secretary of the Jackson Citizens' Council, offered at a meeting of the board of directors on Tuesday, August 25, 1955, to edit this paper without salary. Your directors fell all over themselves to accept this proposition.



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" Publication will begin in September (October at the latest). It is hoped that this paper can be put into the hands of every member of the Citizens' Councils in Mississippi--and also every white citizen of Mississippi--and will grow into the official organ of all the Citizens' Councils in the nation.

" Naturally, this paper cannot be published except on a subscription basis, and it would seem that the best way to handle this subscription would be to have each Council contact their members and send the subscriptions in a lump. The subscription price has been set at \$2.00 per year, the lowest figure possible since no advertising will be accepted.

" If preferred, you can send your subscription direct to Mr. W. J. Simmons, Administrator, Room 203, Walthall Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi."

## II. OFFICERS - STATE AND LOCAL

By letter dated May 30, 1955, ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, advised SA GEORGE A. EVERETT that the name of [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, [redacted] of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce, had been added to the Association's State Executive Committee.

On August 5, 1955, Mr. A. P. TERRY, Chief of Auxiliary Police, Clarksdale, Mississippi, voluntarily advised SA JOHN DANIEL SULLIVAN that on the afternoon of August 4, 1955 about fifty responsible businessmen in Coahoma County met at Clarksdale and formed a chapter of the Citizens Council.

He said that in the near future an open meeting is planned, at which time officers would be elected and policies established. He advised that at that time a speaker would be present and he would probably be Judge TOM BRADY from southern Mississippi.

TERRY said that the discussion during the meeting was generally that economic pressure would be brought to bear upon trouble makers whether they be white or colored, and that intent of the Council is to keep segregation as it is at the present time in Coahoma County.

TERRY said that RALPH BALZER, Executive Vice President, Coahoma County Bank & Trust Company, WILLIE YOUNG, Supervisor, Coahoma County, CRAWFORD MCGIVERN, Vice President, Bank of Clarksdale, R. N. HOPSON, planter, and P. F. WILLIAMS, SR.,

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Delta Grocery & Cotton Company, were picked as a committee to select officers.

TERRY said that very strong statements were made to the effect that violence of any nature must be avoided and that such instances must be reported to the proper authorities. TERRY advised that the Citizens Council plans to do a lot of work in presenting true facts in answer to unfounded complaints by investigation and reporting the same to the press.

An article appearing in the August 17, 1955 issue of the Clarksdale Press-Register, a daily newspaper published at Clarksdale, Mississippi, disclosed that between 1000 and 1100 residents of Clarksdale and surrounding territory gathered at the Auditorium on the night of August 16, 1955 to hear an address by Circuit Judge TOM B. BRADY of Brookhaven, Mississippi. Following the talk, the group endorsed the formation of a Citizens' Council in Clarksdale and Coahoma County. It approved the enlargement of the eight man temporary steering committee into a twelve man executive committee.

The eight man group includes E. P. PEACOCK, JR., W. B. YOUNG, R. N. BALTZER, CAGE BREWER, R. N. HOPSON, HUDSON KYLE, C. S. MCGIVAREN, and P. F. WILLIAMS, SR., who served as Chairman.

Up to August 17, 1955, the article continued, 261 of the persons attending the meeting had completed applications for membership and paid \$5.00 annual dues to the Citizens' Council of Coahoma County.

On September 14, 1955, [redacted] and member of the [redacted] Cleveland Mississippi, advised SA [redacted] that he is the [redacted] of the Citizens Council of Cleveland, Mississippi, and that he is also on the [redacted] for the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi. He stated that [redacted] Merigold, Mississippi, is the [redacted] of the Citizens Council of Cleveland. This Council has also been identified as the Citizens Council of Bolivar County.

On September 14, 1955, ROBERT B. PATTERSON personally advised SA GEORGE A. EVERETT at Winona, Mississippi that the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi was being reorganized on a regional basis, the division being by Congressional Districts. He stated that as soon as the reorganization is complete

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he will furnish SA EVERETT with a complete listing of the organization's regional officers.

On September 27, 1955, ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Winona, Mississippi, advised SA GEORGE A. EVERETT that Citizens Councils had been organized in the states of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia (under name States Rights Council), and South Carolina (where one half of the counties are organized) in addition to the state of Mississippi. He stated there is no official connection between the Councils of the various states but that efforts were being made to work out an organization to coordinate the activities of all Citizens' Councils, and it is possible that such a coordinating organization could be established.

At that time, PATTERSON furnished SA EVERETT with a five page mimeographed list which he described as the chart of the reorganized leadership of the Association of Citizens' Councils by districts. He stated the pamphlet lists the members of the State Executive Committee from each district, the district chairmen, and the county chairmen of counties in each congressional district, wherein Citizens Councils are organized. It also lists counties in the Congressional Districts where no Councils have been organized as of 9-27-55. This chart is copied in full as follows:


"FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

	Brooksville	Ph. 2761	2063
	Starkville	Ph. 38	430

DISTRICT CHAIRMAN

	Columbus	Ph. 816R
---	----------	----------

<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>COUNTY CHAIRMAN</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>PH.</u>	<u>RES. PHONE</u>
Attala		Sallis	1059W3	
		McAdams	362W1	959W3
Lowndes		Columbus	797	819
		Columbus		
Noxubee		Prairie Point		
		Macon	98	

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"Oktibbeha

Winston

Choctaw

Webster

Prentiss

Clay

Alcorn

Monroe

Tishomingo

Chickasaw

Pontotoc

Lee

Itawamba



Starkville  
Starkville  
Louisville  
Louisville

38

430  
1204J3  
744  
843

*CHAIRED ASSOC. OF CITIZENS  
COUNCIL*

These County Chairmen will serve until December 31, 1956, unless replaced by their local councils.

Distribution: Each officer concerned and all local Chairmen in First Congressional District.

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

*ASSOC. OF CITIZENS  
COUNCIL*



Winona

Ph. 631

Senatobia Phs. 4481

2961 6751

Grenada

Ph. 39 493

DISTRICT CHAIRMAN



Phillip

Ph. 6016

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<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>COUNTY CHAIRMAN</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>PH.</u>	<u>RES. PH.</u>
Tate Alt.		Coldwater	2621 2671	2101
		Senatobia		7184
Tallahatchie		Stover Sumner	Franklin 5-8520	
Carroll Alt.		Vaiden		4262
		Carrollton	4382	4333
Yalobusha Alt.		Oakland		
		Oakland		4701
Montgomery Alt.		Winona		631
		Winona	110	524
Calhoun				
Panola				
Lafayette				
Union				
Tippah				
Benton				
Marshall				
DeSoto				

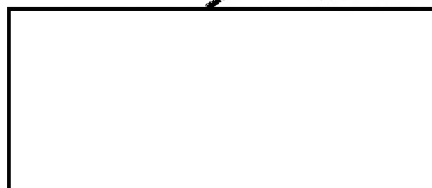
*ASSOC. OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS*

These County Chairmen will serve until December 31, 1956, unless replaced by their local councils.

Distribution: Each officer concerned and all local Chairmen in the Second Congressional District.

### 3RD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



Lexington Ph. 100 - Res. 115  
 Lynverness Ph. 4141 - Res. 4181  
 Clarksdale Ph. 44361 - Res. 46193

#### DISTRICT CHAIRMAN



Indianola Ph. 792-M-2

ASSOC. OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS

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*COUNTY	COUNTY CHAIRMAN	ADDRESS	PH.	RES. PH.
Leflore Alt.		Itta Bena Greenwood		2521
Tunica Alt.		Tunica Tunica	92	273
Coahoma Alt.		Clarksdale Clarksdale	44-331	45-221
Bolivar Alt.		Shaw Merigold		3051
Washington Alt.		Leland Leland	441	680
Sunflower Alt.		Sunflower Indianola		25
Holmes Alt.		Lexington Lexington	531	255
Humphries Alt.		Belzoni Louise	441	668
Quitman				
Sharkey				
Issaquena				

These County Chairmen will serve until December 31, 1956, unless replaced by their local Councils.

Distribution: Each officer concerned and all Local Chairmen in Third Congressional District.

#### FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ASSOC. OF CITIZENS COUNCIL

Gloster Ph. 3141

Brookhaven Ph. 172 Res. 428

Jackson Ph. 2-3636

COUNTY CHAIRMAN OF ASSOC. OF CITIZENS COUNCIL

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"

DISTRICT CHAIRMAN

[redacted] Port Gibson Ph. Lorman 2521 Port Gib. 104

COUNTY	COUNTY CHAIRMAN	ADDRESS	PH.	RES. PH.
Hinds	[redacted]	Edwards	3431	
Alt.		Edwards	3291	
Yazoo		Yazoo City	1003	731
Alt.		Yazoo City	1255	
Claiborne		Port Gibson	323	37
Alt.		Port Gibson	237R	67
Jefferson		Church Hill	Natchez County	3102
Alt.		Lorman		
Adams		[redacted]	4819	
Alt.		Natchez		
		Natchez	4178	
Franklin		Roxie	6211	
Alt.		Meadville	147	
Amite		Smithdale		
Alt.		Liberty	3091	
Lincoln	[redacted]	[redacted]	Brookhaven	1561R 1221
Alt.		Brookhaven	425	72
Walthall		Tylertown	3682	
Alt.		Tylertown	3691	3689
Jeff Davis		Prentiss	272	174
Alt.		Prentiss	267	830
Wilkinson		Centreville	2634	

Pike

Copolah

These County Chairmen will serve until December 31, 1956, unless replaced by their local councils.

Distribution: Each officer concerned and all local Chairmen in Fourth Congressional District.



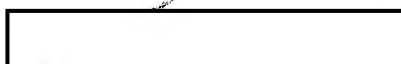
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"FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTEXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Carthage

Canton

Ph. 195-W

DISTRICT CHAIRMAN

Ludlow

<u>County</u>	<u>County Chairman</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Ph.</u>	<u>Res. Ph.</u>
Madison Alt.		Canton	1194	
		Canton	1365	
Scott		Hillsboro		
		Hillsboro		
Leake Alt.		Carthage	9273	
		Carthage		
Neshoba Alt.		Philadelphia		222-R
		Philadelphia		
Rankin Alt.		Goshen Springs		
		Sand Hill		

Kemper  
Newton  
Lauderdale  
Simpson  
Smith  
Jasper  
Clarke

ASSOC. OF CITIZENS COUNCILS

These County Chairmen will serve until December 31, 1956, unless replaced by their local councils.

Distribution: Each officer concerned and all Local Chairmen in the Fifth Congressional District. "

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The September 30, 1955 issue of the "Delta Democrat Times," a daily newspaper published at Greenville, Mississippi,

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disclosed that on the night of September 29, 1955, a Citizens Council was organized in Greenville. At this meeting, the article states, G. RAMSEY RUSSELL was elected temporary President, JOHN D. CAUSEY, Dr. E. H. WINN JR., and FRANK BAIRD, temporary Vice-Presidents, and J. C. RAMSEY, temporary Secretary-Treasurer. MISS

*ASSOC. OF CITIZENS COUNCIL*

A list of directors elected at the meeting are as follows:

FRANK BAIRD  
JOHN D. CAUSEY  
KENNETH F. EDWARDS  
HOLLAND FELTS  
V. C. HAMMETT, JR.  
Dr. BEN E. HAND  
H. H. HUBLESTON  
KARL E. KREMSER  
JOHN W. KIRK  
GILDER McCOOL  
JOHN A. MARTIN  
DOYLE E. MORROW  
JERE B. NASH, SR.  
SAM NEYMAN, JR.  
RAMSEY RUSSELL  
L. T. SLOAN  
JEROME COSTELLO  
CONWELL SYKES  
GEORGE S. TAYLOR  
PAUL H. WATSON  
JEFF P. WILKERSON  
WADE S. WINEMAN  
N. E. WINGATE  
DR. E. H. WINN, JR. ✓  
J. C. RAMSEY  
JOHN L. McCORKLE

The Executive Committee, according to the article, consists of the Chairman, or President, the three Vice-Presidents, the Secretary-Treasurer, KENNETH EDWARDS, CONWELL SYKES, WADE S. WINEMAN, GEORGE TAYLOR, JEFF WILKERSON, and GILDER McCOOL.

On October 10, 1955, Sheriff H. B. CARGILE, Tunica County, Tunica, Mississippi, advised SA JOHN DANIEL SULLIVAN that he had determined that approximately one month before the Association of Citizens' Councils had formed a local council in Tunica and he had heard various reports indicating they had a

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membership of between 150 and 250. He stated that due to the fact that he was afraid the "hoodlum element" might have taken charge of it he made inquiry and found that the following persons had been elected to office:

[redacted] President, a local attorney of excellent reputation in the community.

[redacted] Vice President, a planter in the area from one of the most prominent families in Tunica County and of excellent reputation

[redacted] office unknown, [redacted] and of excellent reputation.

[redacted] stated that several people had approached him to join the Citizens' Council but he stated he did not feel that the Sheriff of a county should belong to any organization which he might have to investigate at some future time. He stated, however, that he was glad to find that the officers of the Council were citizens of the highest type.

An article appearing in the Mid-South Edition of the "Commercial Appeal," daily newspaper published at Memphis, Tennessee, on October 20, 1955, carrying a dateline Batesville, Mississippi, October 19, described the formation of a Panola County Citizens Council on October 18, 1955, at which time about 500 persons met at the Courthouse. The following were elected officers:

County Chairman, C. BRYANT YOUNG, Sardis, Mississippi planter and banker

Vice Chairman for the First Court District, ROY GIRNER, Sardis, Mississippi undertaker

Vice Chairman for the Second Court District, L. S. DAVIDSON, Superintendent of Schools, Pope, Mississippi

Secretary, J. W. STILL, Panola County Tax Assessor

At the meeting, State Representative DENNIS M. BAKER presided and C. F. CRAIG, local merchant, served as chairman of the nominating committee.

The article further stated that thirty-three directors from the fifteen voting precincts in the County were elected, but they were not named.

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S K I P

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### III. STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Under date of July 14, 1955, the following letter was received by the Memphis Division from Confidential Informant T-1, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past concerning the Citizens Council:

b7D

"[redacted]  
7/14/55.

"Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Sirs:

I have finally become a member of the Association of Citizens Councils. In that I am not active and cannot be out in the work, I know very little more than I did when they first contacted me by mail.

The literature they mail out is about the same. I have found out, however, they are associated with other movements of similiar calibre in eight other Southern states. I have recieved literature from some of those, but it is in nature about the same.

I have learned also that the Mississippi movement is very short of funds. They have not assessed me any certain amount, but in a memographed letter to all members, they explained that their workers in some instances were losing money, leaving their regular positions and sacrificing in order to serve.

I have seen nor heard anything that seemed the least subversive, they specialize in Communist hatred. As a matter of fact, Paul Robeson has declared war on them and they are very resentful of him and other left-wingers.

If Mr. Hodding Carter of Greenville told the truth about them, he has more information than I have. They do call him the "Mixie-crat", but as far as I know they have not asked the membership to subscribe to boycotting him in any way. They didn't even play up the loss of his contract with the state in some printing deal that the press did give an account of.

There is absolutely no connection that I know of between the Council and the Ku-Klux-Klan. They accept membership among Catholics and Jews, and never mention race only in connection

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"with the mixing of the whites and Negroes, and always point out that the Communist Party and their front organizations are at work with the NAACP. They laud some Negroes, particularly those who prefer to remain segregated.

This county, [ ] will never organize. They seem to be satisfied with such laws that they are provided with and think it can't and will not happen to them here. Then too, they have no Negro problem. Very few live in this county.

b7D

[ ] the recent one at Selmer, Alabama, where Mr. Talmadge of Georgia was chief speaker. I never attended, and have not been advised of the results of the meeting, as yet.

If anything that I believe to be subversive comes to my knowledge, I will turn in the information immediately. But so far, I have seen or heard nothing except that which is commonly voiced on the street corners in any Southern city.

Respectfully,

/s/ \_\_\_\_\_

P. S. I might add, I certainly was not accepted until I actually did some work, not too much, but through the mails. I did mail out some literature and write a few candidates. /s/ "

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On September 14, 1955, [ ] supra, advised SA [ ] that at the present time there are active Citizens' Council organizations in six states and a plan is underway for all of these organizations to merge into one central body.

[ ] further advised that at that time there was no active Citizens Council at Greenville, Mississippi, but that the foundation had been laid for the formation of a group at Greenville, and it probably would be activated in the near future. [ ] voluntarily stated that there is an NAACP organization at Cleveland, Mississippi which is headed by AMZIE MOORE, described by [ ] as a Negro agitator who is employed at the Post Office. [ ] said the NAACP has made claim to having 400 to 500 members in the Cleveland organization, but [ ] expressed doubt that there are actually anywhere near that many members. He stated that MOORE is a protege of Dr. T. R. M. HOWARD, Negro physician at Mound Bayou, Mississippi who organized and

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heads the Regional Council of Negro Leadership.

In the August 12, 1955 issue of the "Memphis Press Scimitar," daily newspaper published at Memphis, Tennessee, appeared the following article, under the caption "Segregation Meeting at Senatobia, Miss.":

"Senatobia, Miss. -- More than 2500 white citizens from Mississippi and Arkansas were expected here tonight for a meeting of white citizens councils, organized to maintain segregation of the races.

"JOHN CALLICOTT, president of the Tate County Council, said a group was expected from Hoxie, Ark., where the town's schools were integrated at the start of the recent term.

"It was this week a boycott of the Hoxie school was begun by white students in an attempt to rescind the school board's integration order.

"Callicott said Sen. JAMES O. EASTLAND (Dem., Miss.) would address tonight's meeting along with Circuit Judge TOM P. BRADY of Brookhaven, both outspoken foes of integration and the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision."

The May 11, 1955 issue of "The Commonwealth," daily newspaper published at Greenwood, Mississippi, contained the following article:

#### "CITIZENS COUNCILS MET LAST NIGHT

"The Jackson Daily News and Major Frederick Sullens were praised for their stand on segregation in a resolution issued by a district meeting of Citizen's Councils held in Greenwood last night. Representatives of Councils from a wide area attended the dinner and open forum meeting, at which short talks were made by a number of men, including Bill Simmons, secretary for the Jackson Citizens' Council, formerly the Jackson States' Rights Association.

"Three members of the state board of directors of the Association of Citizens' Councils were introduced by Ellet Lawrence of Greenwood. They were M. L. Branch, Winona; W. S. Curry, Itta Bena; and Fred Jones, Inverness. Mr. Branch outlined the activities of the state office, and praised the work of Robert Patterson, executive secretary.

"State Senator Harvey Pennington of Tallahatchie County told the meeting about the Women's Auxiliary which was formed in



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"that county, and plans were discussed for forming these groups in connection with all councils.

~~"In attendance at last night's meeting were:~~  
~~H. N. Adams, D. F. Smith, Sidon; Weldon Baskin, B. F. Wiley,~~  
~~Vaiden; W. P. Brown, Howard McShan, Schlater; J. E. Hughes,~~  
~~B. J. Roberson, Minter City; M. L. Branch, B. F. Heath, Winona;~~  
~~W. S. Curry, Itta Bena; Dave Hawkins, Indianola; Martin Heard,~~  
~~Leland; Fred Jones, Inverness; Ellett Lawrence, Gordon L.~~  
~~Smith, Ellett Lawrence, II, Hardy Lott, Hite McLean, Greenwood;~~  
~~C. L. Puckett, Belzoni; W. J. Simmons, Jackson; Oscar Wolfe, Jr.,~~  
~~Duncan; E. E. Smith, Glendora."~~

~~ATTENDED MEETING OF ASSOC. OF CITIZENS COUNCILS~~

The following article appeared in the June 10, 1955 issue of the "Delta Democrat Times," Greenville, Mississippi:

**"PATTERSON SAYS COUNCILS DON'T OPPOSE  
QUALIFIED NEGRO VOTERS**

"Canton, Miss. (UP) - The leader of Mississippi's Citizens Councils last night denied that the pro-segregation groups were 'anti-anybody'. Another council officer accused two state schools of being 'liberal' toward Negroes.

"Robert Patterson, executive secretary of the organization, said the councils never advocated 'economic pressure' against Negroes to prevent their voting. He said the councils were organized, however, to 'withstand the pressure of such groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people.'

"Another council officer, Bill Simmons, executive secretary of the Jackson organization, branded the University of Mississippi and Millsaps College as 'liberal in their racial attitudes.'

Simmons cited as proof a student poll conducted at the university which he claimed favored admitting Negroes to the school.

"Patterson, an Indianola planter, met newsmen preceding an address by five gubernatorial candidates who stated their views on segregation to members of the councils.

"We do not oppose anybody voting if they can qualify," Patterson said of organizations which have been accused of forcing Negroes through intimidation to remove their names from registration lists.

"He admitted, however, that the councils strongly promoted a constitutional amendment last December which strengthens

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"voting requirements and is openly aimed at reducing the number of Negro registrations.

"The Delta planter refused to answer questions of what he called a 'speculative' nature, including references to the danger of councils controlled by persons committed to violence.

"'A Rotary Club or Sunday school class,' he said, 'could get out of hand.'"

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The following article appeared in the September 15, 1955 issue of the "Delta Democrat Times":

"CITIZENS COUNCILS TO PUBLISH 'NEWS'

"Indianola, Miss. (UP) -- W. J. Simmons of Jackson was named today as editor of an official newspaper for the pro-segregation Citizens Councils.

"Simmons is secretary of the Jackson, Miss., council and a state-level administrator of the group. Robert Patterson, executive secretary of the Councils, said the new paper, scheduled for publication before October, will serve as the official organ of the organization in 12 states.

"He said Mississippi's council membership now totals 60,000 and chapters have been organized in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and Missouri."

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On October 15, 1955, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT received through the mail from the Association of Citizens Councils, Winona, Mississippi, Volume I, No. 1, of the Citizens Council, styled as the official paper of the Citizens' Councils, October, 1955, Jackson, Mississippi. This four-page newspaper is not being quoted in view of its length, but the contents are summarized as follows:

Directly under the masthead is the following:  
"Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the

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"preservation of our States' Rights."

Column one on page one is an introduction to all Citizens' Council members in Mississippi, to the general public, and to members of the Citizens' Councils in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, and South Carolina, to the members of the Tennessee Society for the Maintenance of Segregation, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, American States Rights Association of Birmingham, Georgia States Rights Association, Patriots of North Carolina, Defenders of State Sovereignty of Virginia, and the Virginia League. This column indicated there are official correspondents for this paper in some of the other state organizations.

The second and third columns, captioned "Mississippi Citizens' Councils are Protecting Both Races," is an article by THOMAS R. WARING, Editor of the News and Courier, Charleston, South Carolina.

The upper portions of columns four and five reflect an article from the Charleston, South Carolina "News and Courier" concerning a report from Orangeburg, South Carolina relating to an investigation of activities of the NAACP among the faculty and students of South Carolina State College.

Also on the front page is a short article captioned, "Carter's 'Middleground'" by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, dealing with the speech of HODDING CARTER at the Commencement exercises of Duke University. N.C.

Another article discloses that HENRY B. RICHARDSON, Post Office Clerk, Orangeburg, South Carolina, had made public a letter from the office of Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON, saying that the Senator was heartily in favor of Citizens' Councils as a method of fighting the integration of schools, and expressing the opinion that membership in the Citizens' Councils is not a violation of the Hatch Act, according to information received from the Civil Service Commission.

A short article deals with an organization called, "Help Negro Entertainers Get Employment," which allegedly has started a post card campaign demanding that TV networks hire more Negro entertainers on sponsored shows, and threatening to boycott television-advertised products unless the sponsors use Negro performers.

NAACP ASSOC. FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF  
COLORED PEOPLE

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This article was under the caption "Economic Pressure."

In the lower right hand corner is a statement that the NAACP has advanced one of its former officials into an executive job on the President's staff at the White House, naming the Negro as EVERETT FREDERIC MORROW, who was selected by SHERMAN ADAMS.

On Page 2 is a notation indicating that W. J. SIMMONS is Editor of the paper which is published monthly at 203 Walthall Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi by the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi. There follows a listing of the State Executive Committee and officers.

The first article on Page 2 discloses that during September a series of meetings by Congressional Districts was held at Indianola, Starkville, Winona, Canton, and Port Gibson, Mississippi, during which the organization of Councils by counties and districts was completed. This article sets forth a listing of the organizational setup as described above.

Another article on page two describes the speech of HUGH G. GRANT of Augusta, Georgia at a meeting of the Lake City, South Carolina Citizens Council.

Also on this page is a column headed "The Myth of World Opinion" taken from the Charleston, South Carolina "News and Courier" and a column headed "Reunion of Redhead with Tan Hubby, via Kisses in Union Station is Shocking" taken from the Pittsburgh "Courier," dealing with inter-racial romances.

Page three commences with a continuation of the organizational setup, and the following "Duties of Officers From Each Congressional District" are copies therefrom:

"1. The Executive Committee (3 men). This Committee is a part of the State Executive Committee that directs the State Association and sets its policies. In addition these committeemen maintain a constant liason with the district chairman and with all county chairman in their district. They attend the regular monthly meeting of the State Executive Committee and assist the County Chairman in the solution of any problems that apply to his district.

"2. The District Chairman: This officer maintains constant liaison with all County Chairmen within his District. He maintains a list of all local Chairmen and officers within his

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"District. He assists County Chairmen in solving County problems when called upon. He calls meetings of all County Chairmen within his District when necessary. He seeks cooperation from the County Chairmen in providing speakers for Council meetings in his District and in completing its organization.

"3. The County Chairman: This officer maintains contact with all local chairmen within his county and with the District Chairman. He should be able to contact any neighboring County Chairman when necessary. He should be able to contact the District Executive Committee at any time for advice or to make recommendations.

#### "THE DISTRICT INFORMATION AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE

"Each County Chairman with the recommendation of his Board of Directors is asked to submit the name of one man from his County to serve on the District Information and Education Committee. It is suggested that these selections include Educators, Doctors, Ministers, Newspapermen or others who have training in research and dissemination of information. These men should be devoted to our cause and should have the time to give to thought and action on this committee.

"The purpose of this Committee is to devise means of nullifying the tremendous propaganda assault being waged against the minds of our young people and our citizens. It is hoped that the good influence of this committee will be felt in our schools, our churches, our homes, our radio programs, our newspapers, our State Legislature and eventually in our moving pictures, our Federal Government and in every other media possible.

"This Committee should meet from time to time as necessary and make recommendations to the County Chairmen or the State Executive Committee.

#### "THE DISTRICT LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

"Each County Chairman with the recommendation of his Board of Directors is asked to submit the name of one man from his county to serve on the District Legal Advisory Committee. This selection should be a prominent lawyer and preferably the Chairman of your County Legal Advisory Committee.

"The purpose of this Committee is to devise legal means for preventing integration. Many legal problems that will arise in the future can be anticipated and solved by this committee.

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"This Committee will be expected to furnish legal advice to counties within their District, and to the State Association. Various legal information and advice pertinent to our great problem will be submitted to this committee from time to time for their information.

Also on page three is an article headed, "Jackson Council Pledges Support of LEAC Program" dealing with action by the Board of Directors of the Jackson, Mississippi Citizens' Council, commending Governor HUGH L. WHITE and the Legal Education Advisory Committee for positive action taken in approving six legislative proposals dealing with segregation.

A column headed "Mississippi Notebook," by TOM ETHRIDGE, feature columnist of the "Claron-Ledger," a daily newspaper published at Jackson, Mississippi, deals with the NAACP and its handling of the EMMETT TILL story.

Another column on page three is headed "Texans Will Fight to Preserve Segregation," taken from the "Southern Conservative," expressing views from Texas on the issue of segregated schools.

Page four contains miscellaneous articles concerning segregation and activities of the NAACP.

There is a column headed, "Integration Poll," by H. R. SULLIVAN, a special writer, Savannah, Georgia.

One issue of the above-described newspaper is maintained in the Memphis Office file.

Under date of July 18, 1955, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT received through the mail from the Association of Citizens Councils, Winona, Mississippi, a pamphlet headed Federation for Constitutional Government, Temporary Headquarters 801 American Bank Building, P. O. Box 86, New Orleans, Louisiana, listing the following as Interim Executive Committee:

JOHN U. BARR, Chairman, New Orleans, Louisiana  
ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Vice-Chairman, Winona, Mississippi  
Hon. WALTER C. GIVHAM, Safford, Alabama  
Hon. JOE C. JENKINS, Gainsville, Florida  
Hon. HUGH G. GRANT, Augusta, Georgia  
W. M. SHAW, Homer, Louisiana  
J. A. STUBBS, Sumter, South Carolina  
L. V. DUBOSE, Nashville, Tennessee  
Hon. R. A. STUART, Fort Worth, Texas  
R. B. CRAWFORD, Farmville, Virginia



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Named as Legal Committee were the following:

Hon. TOM P. BRADY, Brookhaven, Miss.  
Hon. LEANDER H. PEREZ, New Orleans, Louisiana  
Hon. W. SCOTT WILKINSON, Shreveport, Louisiana

The first page is an open letter from JOHN U. BARR to the individual addressed, stating that enclosed is a copy of Senator EASTLAND's speech on the United States Supreme Court. (a copy of the speech was not enclosed.)

The pamphlet continues that Senator EASTLAND's full approval the foundation has been laid for the national organization EASTLAND pleads for in his speech, excerpts from which appear on page two of the pamphlet. The letter indicates that the Executive Committee was formed at a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi on January 21 and 22, 1955.

Pages two and three of this pamphlet are copied as follows:

"EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH MADE

by

SENATOR JAMES O. EASTLAND

"It is essential that a nation-wide organization be set up. It will be a people's organization, an organization not controlled by fawning politicians who cater to organized racial pressure groups. A people's organization to fight the Court, to fight the C.I.O., to fight the N.A.A.C.P., and to fight all the conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction. We will mobilize and organize public opinion. We will attempt to pledge candidates in advance as they attempt to pledge them.

"We are about to embark upon a great crusade, a crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people. In addition, our organization will carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise and we will fight those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry, and the great medical profession of this country. This will give us recruits and add to our support in the North and West.

"Before God, I now make the people of Mississippi this solemn promise: I will carry it in the North as well as in the



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"South. We have no other alternative. The choice is between victory and defeat. Defeat means death, the death of Southern culture and our aspirations as an Anglo-Saxon people. With strong leadership and the loyalty and fortitude of a great people, we will climb the heights. Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize that the fight we now wage, will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory.

\* \* \* \*

#### "RESOLUTION

"Adopted in Jackson, Mississippi, on January 22, 1955. Representatives from the eleven Deep South States were in attendance.

"BE IT RESOLVED that a National Committee, to be named FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, be organized, consisting of two representatives or delegates from each participating state, for the purpose of coordinating and assisting the efforts of citizens of the several states in securing a return of constitutional government to the people of the United States.

"The major objectives of the National Committee shall be made to promote constitutional government, including the preservation of the independence of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Departments; the preservation of the sovereign rights of the several states, and the preservation of individual liberties, all of which are guaranteed by the Federal Constitution; to secure the nomination of candidates for office who subscribe to these principles; to resist the nomination of leftist candidates for President and Vice President and other offices, and oppose the adoption of Socialistic platforms; to seek in every honorable and legitimate way to prohibit the practice and to counteract the effects and consequences of executive agreements or orders, and of decisions of the Federal Courts and the United States Supreme Court which have wrongfully abrogated, modified, or amended the provisions of the United States Constitution which require a separation of powers between the three great departments of government, and of the Tenth Amendment which reserved to the States and the people all power not expressly granted by the Constitution to the Federal Government.

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"The said Committee is hereby authorized to adopt its own rules of procedure and to do all things which it may in its discretion deem necessary to carry out the objectives outlined above.

"The said Committee shall elect officers and select an Executive Committee and prescribe its powers and duties. The National Committee may set up State organizations, sub-committees or special committees, or work through or in cooperation with existing organizations that are in accord with the principles and the objectives set forth hereinabove.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a Provisional Committee, consisting of two representatives of each state represented at this meeting today, be formed to promote and carry into effect the purposes of this Resolution until such time as each state organization, which it may approve, can select its two state representatives or delegates to serve on the National Committee.

"JOHN U. BARR  
Temporary Chairman

801 American Bank Building  
New Orleans, Louisiana "

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Under date of October 5, 1955, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT received through the mail from the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Mississippi, the following mimeographed sheet:

"THE JURY IS THE 'SAVING CLAUSE' OR RATHER OUR  
'LAST LINE OF DEFENSE' IN OUR PRESENT CRISIS.

"Out of the welter- of decisions and statutes the following legal principles become clear, as to contempt not committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to obstruct justice.

"There are now in the Federal Courts three kinds of contempts:

1. Civil contempts.
2. Criminal contempts.
3. 'Contempts that constitute criminal offenses'

under either an Act of Congress or a State law.

"This last class of contempts were so classified in 1949 when

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"Title 10 Section 402, Title 18, U. S. C. A. was amended to read, 'contempts that constitute crimes' instead of 'criminal ontempt.'

## "PROCEDURE IN THE THREE CLASSES OF CONTEMPTS

### CIVIL CONTEMPT

Civil contempt is purely remedial and is used by the court to either coerce a defendant into doing an 'affirmative' act ordered to be done, or by means of a fine for the benefit of private litigants for purpose of compensating such litigants for loss suffered by defendant's violation of the court's order or decree. In the case of a 'civil' contempt, the defendant is not entitled to demand a jury trial. When an order or decree of the court is violated and such violation does not constitute a criminal offense so as to bring it within Class 3, the court may, as its option, proceed against the defendant for either 'civil' or 'criminal' contempt. If the litigation is between private parties and the contempt is proceeded against as 'civil' the United States Attorney will not be involved but the matter will be handled by the court and counsel for the complaining party. If the court elects to proceed against the defendant as for 'criminal' contempt, it may direct either the United States Attorney or counsel for the complainant to draw up and have served on defendant a citation for such 'criminal' contempt.

"If the court elects to proceed against the defendant as for a 'criminal' contempt, the defendant is entitled to demand a jury trial in any case in which an Act of Congress so provides.

"In the case of the third class of contempts, namely, 'contempts that constitute criminal offenses', the court does not have the power to elect to proceed against the defendant as for a civil contempt, but must proceed as required by Section 402, Title 18, U. S. C. A. under Section 3691, Title 18, U. S. C. A. and the right of the defendant to a jury trial is mandatory. Also the trial shall be according to Rule 42 of the Criminal Court Rules.

"The practical effect of the adoption by Congress of this new class of contempts (Section 402, Title 18, U.S.C.A.) and requiring that in such cases the defendant be entitled to demand a jury trial, when considered together with Sections 241 and 242, Title 18, U.S.C.A., known as the 'Civil Rights Laws', the violation of which

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"constitute criminal offenses, is to take away entirely from the courts the jurisdiction to proceed against a defendant as for 'civil contempt' in this class of cases. Therefore, for the violation of a court's order or decree, in such a case, even though such order or decree direct the doing of an 'affirmative' act, the defendant must be prosecuted as for 'criminal contempt' and is entitled to a jury trial. This means that in any case involving schools, swimming pools, golf courses, voting, transportation, etc. the court must, if it proceeds against a defendant for violating its order and decree and regardless of the form of such order, grant the defendant a jury trial on demand. On the trial of such contempt the defendant will be presumed innocent, and the burden will be on the government to prove him guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, which burden will never shift. He cannot be required to give evidence against himself, he need not take the witness stand and his failure to do so cannot even be commented on by court or counsel. The court cannot direct the jury to convict him regardless of how conclusive the evidence may be. Because of their right to render a 'general verdict' in criminal cases, the jury has the power to pass on the 'merits' of whatever law they are called on to enforce, and neither the jury as a body nor any individual juror can ever be questioned concerning the verdict.

"All this means that our customs, our traditions and our way of life itself is under the protection of the juries of the South."

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Under date of October 5, 1955, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT received through the mail from the Association of Citizen's Councils, Winona, Mississippi, the following quoted two page mimeographed sheet entitled, "Organization of a Local Citizens' Council":

"The incentive to organize a Citizens' Council must come from within the Community itself. Certain leaders must decide that they need a local organization in order that their community can do its part in uniting with their State and their section of the country in destroying the monster of integration that threatens our Nation.

"One of the local leaders must take it upon himself to call a meeting of from ten to twenty Community leaders. Advantages of a local organization are discussed and a vote taken as to whether or not this group should organize. A Temporary Chairman is elected, a meeting date is set for the next week

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"and each man present is told to bring several of his friends who are sympathetic towards the movement to the next meeting. A nominating committee should be appointed from this group to have a satisfactory slate of officers to present for election at the second meeting.

"At the second meeting a speaker can address the crowd, telling them of the erroneous doctrines behind the "Black Monday" decision of the Supreme Court and further stress the need for local, state and regional organization.

"The group can next elect permanent officers to include Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and a Board of Directors. The Chairman and Directors can appoint the four committees as follows:

1. Information and Education
2. Legal Advisory
3. Membership and Finance
4. Political and Elections

"In rural counties it might be better to have a county-wide organization with directors from each small district who could call a meeting in their precincts or areas. In large cities it might be better to organize by precinct. In counties with two or three large cities it might be better to form two or three or more separate councils. This, of course, will vary according to the population and geographical layout of the county. In Mississippi prominent, level headed, courageous leadership has been found in each instance, and the members that belong to our Councils come from every walk of life. Every man who is a patriotic law-abiding American who loves his state and nation should be proud to take part in this movement.

"After local units have organized they can, of course, elect a County Chairman for liaison purposes.

#### "MEMBERSHIP

"There are only 250,000 members of the NAACP in the entire nation. There are 40 million white Southerners.

"We must have millions of patriotic law abiding citizens as members of our organization.

"Membership drives should start this month for the year 1956.

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"The following membership plan has proven effective:

"A prominent, energetic citizen who is dedicated to this movement should be appointed membership Chairman.

"He should select twenty or thirty membership teams of two men each to serve on his committee.

"After appropriate newspaper and other publicity, the Chairman should assign each team to specific streets or districts in his community covering the area so that each citizen will be given an opportunity to join the Council.

"It can be explained that in case the Directors turn down a member his money will be refunded. Any member may have his membership revoked at any time by the Board of Directors.

"Each team can get together and can cover their area at their convenience. In addition, membership stations can be set up at certain banks or business houses. Each team should have receipt books and blank checks.

"The Membership Chairman should request the appropriate number of 1956 membership cards from the State Office. "

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Under date of October 21, 1955, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT received in the mail from the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Mississippi, the following mimeographed sheet entitled, "The Solution."

"Everyone will admit that the race issue is one of the foremost problems facing our nation today. The Federal Government, supported by representatives from Northern States, offer as a solution Integration. Many states in this nation, through their representatives in Washington, seek to share their knowledge and solution with those few states who have the problem. It is only fair to expect that these states should be willing to share the problem also.

"The population of the United States according to the 1950 census was approximately 10 percent Negro. Every one will admit that the percentage of negro population is the most important factor in governing race relations in this country. It will be noted on the attached 1950 census that only fourteen states in the Union have a negro population which is above the National average. In contrast, twenty five states in our Nation have less than five negroes per one hundred people.



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"Minnesota has less than five negroes per one thousand population. It is significant that Senator Hubert Humphreys (D. Minn.) is the great Civil Rights Champion of the NAACP and he has always been an advocate of complete integration. Senator James O. Eastland (D. Miss.) on the other hand, is the champion of State Sovereignty and the right of a state to regulate its own affairs.

"As our population increases this problem could get worse instead of better.

"Here is a program by which every state could not only share in the solution, but also in this great problem. The NAACP who claims to be the champion for the negro should readily offer its tremendous influence in getting behind this project. Since our Federal Government now considers integration as its problem, let's do it in the proper manner. Let's integrate by states and population. Let's give each state an opportunity to absorb its ten per cent share of our negro problem.

- "1. Let each state, according to its deficit negro population, make available the proper number of jobs, homes and schools as indicated.
- "2. Let those states that have a surplus negro population make available one way transportation facilities to any point within the United States.
- "3. Let the Federal Government set up a Bureau to act as the coordinating agency to facilitate this population shift and to see that no hardship will be suffered by those citizens who desire to move from one state to another.

"The Federal Government can handle the necessary advertising and all other problems caused by the movement. It could subsidize the migrants until they are settled.

"This would be a voluntary movement by all concerned, and a citizen would ~~merely~~ be moving with the belief that he might have better opportunities and living conditions in the state of his choice. No one would be forced or required to move anywhere, but each state that has a deficit of negroes should agree to make so many jobs, homes and school facilities available to those negro citizens who desire a change of residence.

"No honest, sincere American should have any objection to this plan, and the NAACP should be overjoyed.



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"It should appeal to the Democrats, the Republicans, the North, the South, the negro, the whites, the Conservatives, the Liberals, Labor, Capital, the reformers and to every one who is interested in a permanent solution to our greatest problem.

"Upon completion of this plan our people could then unite and devote their minds and hearts to a better life for every one in this country. Let's think it over, iron out the kinks and get it started."

Attached to the above-quoted sheet is a page of statistics purporting to be the population of the United States by Negro and white races, based on the 1950 Census.

On October 21, 1955, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT received through the mail from the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Mississippi, the following mimeographed copy of a letter purported to be from JOHN C. MELCHOR and Dr. T. R. M. HOWARD to members of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership in Mississippi, which is quoted as follows:

"REGIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP  
MISSISSIPPI

Executive Office  
Mound Bayou, Mississippi

September 29, 1955

"Dear Member:

"I am sure some of you will agree that the time is now at hand for us as Negroes to do something for the betterment of our Race. The NAACP Headquarters has informed us that it will take a lot of money to fight for our cause. It will take at least \$5,000.00, for each law suit.

" Mr. Wilkins, the NAACP executive Secretary has asked The Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership to be responsible for the expense of at least one of the law suits. We are scheduled to have three or four cases against School Boards in Mississippi in the fight for integration.

" My experience has been that it is not wise to let people know what we are doing who are not sincere and don't mean good for the cause. We should be careful about those men and women who seem to enjoy telling the opposite race what we

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"are doing, otherwise we can, and may be, cut off before we achieve our goal. I don't believe it is wise to broadcast or make public speeches as to what we are doing. Therefore I would suggest that you sit down make a list of some ten, (10) (20) (40) or (50) persons in your community in whom you have confidence and believe that they are sincere, willing and able to give. Explain the situation to those persons who mean good for the cause. Ask them for \$10.00, \$20.00, \$50.00, or \$100.00 or the best they can do. If each of us will do this, I am sure we will have no doubts about raising the \$5,000.00.

" So do your best, we are betting on you. The President, Dr. T. R. M. Howard requested that we raise this money and report it at our meeting in Mount Bayou, Sunday, November 6, 1955, at 3:00 P.M. If you cannot be at this meeting, please mail the money you collect to John C. Melchor, 220 5th Street, Clarksdale, Miss. But please TRY to beat the meeting.

Yours very truly,

John C. Melchor  
Chairman Finance Committee

Dr. T. R. M. Howard  
President

/s/ T. R. M. Howard, Md.

"P.S. By all means, plan to be present at the meeting Sunday, Nov. 6. This will be the most important meeting this year. "

- - - - -

Also received by SA GEORGE A. EVERETT through the mail from the Association of Citizens' Council, Winona, Mississippi, have been the May, 1955 issue and the October, 1955 issue of the "White Sentinel," described as the official organ of the National Citizens Protective Association, Post Office Box 156, St. Louis, Missouri. These publications are not being set out in this report in view of their length and the fact that they are not published by the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi. These copies are being retained in the Memphis Office file.

The following is a copy of a letter dated September 15, 1955, written by ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, to Director JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, with copies indicated for President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER and Attorney General HERBERT BROWNELL:

ME 105-121

"Dear Mr. Hoover:

The FBI has always had the respect of the South, due to the character and integrity of its Agents and to the fact that you have never allowed your Bureau to become involved in politics. Now, however, there is a ~~trend~~ starting in the South that I am sure will concern you, as it does every patriotic American.

"Due to constant agitation by the NAACP, Northern newspapers and the negro press, various incidents that occur in the South are ballooned into unbelievable proportions for propaganda purposes in the North.

"The Justice Department makes a statement that it has no authority in various fields that concern the states. A NAACP delegation visits the Justice Department which promptly changes its mind and says the FBI will investigate. The newspapers publicly announce the forthcoming investigation, thereby nullifying its effectiveness.

"Our Attorney General boasts to some negro organization about how well integration is working in Hoxie, Arkansas, when at the time of his statement Hoxie, after much turmoil and confusion, had disintegrated a couple of weeks previously. Then the newspapers make a big play of the fact that integration at Hoxie will be investigated by the FBI.

"Southern people know that one negro vote in Harlem is equal to 5 5/8 votes in Mississippi towards the election of a President. Southern people know of the Communist front affiliations of the President of the NAACP, Arthur Spingarn, of its Chairman of the Board, Channing Tobias, and of one of its founders, W. E. B. Debois. ~~NATL ASSN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE~~

"Southern people know that the NAACP, through political pressure, has tricked our Supreme Court into nullifying the 10th Amendment to our Federal Constitution. They know of the Communist front affiliations of the so-called authorities cited by the Court in its 'Black Monday' decision. Southern people know that one of the main talking points for integration has been to impress the Chinese, the Africans, and the Russians.

"Southern people know of rabid, prejudiced antics of the NAACP Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, in the Halls of Congress. Southern people, both black and white, recognize the

ME 105-121

"NAACP for what it is, a Left-wing power mad organ of destruction for the negro race that cares not one whit for our national unity, nor for the average negro American. Southern people through the press, are now being led to believe that the NAACP, through its political influence and the Attorney General, is using the FBI to intimidate Southerners who will not submit to its radical integration aims.

" It would be disastrous to our nation for the FBI to lose even a part of the prestige and support that it now has in the South. As you know full well, integration cannot be forced upon the Southern people. That method was tried eighty years ago, and it failed.

" I would suggest that the NAACP and its political sympathizers further brain-wash the South by telling us how well integration is working in Washington and how it has improved the peace, good order, and domestic tranquility of our Nation's Capitol.

" You may be assured of our complete cooperation, if you want it. Our files, our meetings, and our hearts are open to your Bureau until the day that the Southern people suspect that it is mixed up in politics or is prejudiced in favor of the NAACP. It is not what the facts are, it is what the people think they are that is important in this case.

Sincerely,

/s/ Robert B. Patterson

Robert B. Patterson  
Secretary  
Citizens' Council

cc: President Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Attorney General Herbert Brownell"

- - - - -

On September 27, 1955, ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Winona, Mississippi, advised SA GEORGE A. EVERETT that the Citizens' Council in general, and he in particular, are ready at any time to furnish the FBI any information desired concerning the activities of the Association. PATTERSON stated the Association feels it has nothing to hide and no apologies to make. He requested that SA EVERETT feel free to contact him at any time

ME 105-121

and make any request for information desired by the Bureau.

PATTERSON stated he felt that Director HOOVER could not fully share the views expressed by the Department of Justice with regard to the present racial involvement, since those views appeared to him to be dictated by political motives, rather than pure law enforcement. He said the people of the South have always held a higher respect for the FBI than people of other sections of the country, but that ~~this~~ respect would be rapidly diminished if the FBI should be used as a tool for political purposes, which, he said, appears to him and others in the South to be developing in the racial investigations demanded by the Department.

Pursuant to a specific request from the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, SA GEORGE A. EVERETT contacted PATTERSON on October 5, 1955 and requested him to furnish a recording purported to be a speech delivered in December, 1954 in Mississippi by the national organizer of the NAACP. PATTERSON said he does not have a copy of the recording referred to and did not send one to Senator JAMES D. JOHNSON, Crossett, Arkansas. He stated he knows that JOHNSON did have such a recording, which he probably obtained in Mississippi, but PATTERSON stated he does not know the source or origin of the recording.

PATTERSON said he has heard the recording, which is rather mild, and he has heard that it has been played over the radio stations in Mississippi or Arkansas. The speech, he said, sounded like an introduction rather than a speech and was alleged to have been made by an Arkansas Negro somewhere in Mississippi. He stated he does not know the name of the speaker and said the recording is of poor quality. PATTERSON said that as far as he knows the best source of a copy of the recording is Senator JOHNSON. PATTERSON neither admitted nor denied writing a letter to Senator JOHNSON in which the recording was mentioned.

On October 12, 1955, JAMES D. JOHNSON, attorney, Crossett, Arkansas, was interviewed by SA's [redacted] and [redacted] of the Little Rock Division. JOHNSON was requested to furnish a copy of the recording. JOHNSON stated the recording was the property of ROBERT B. PATTERSON of Mississippi and could not be furnished without the consent of PATTERSON. In reply to a question as to the source of the recording, JOHNSON stated he had obtained it from PATTERSON.

The previously referred to August 17, 1955 article in the Clarksdale, Mississippi "Press-Register," announcing the

ME 105-121

formation of a Citizens' Council at Clarksdale, contained the following statements relative to an address by Circuit Judge TOM P. BRADY, Brookhaven, Mississippi, who was introduced by ROBERT B. PATTERSON:

"Terming the organization of such councils as 'the only effective means of legally combating the organized pressure groups arrayed against our institutions,' BRADY emphasized that there 'will be no resort to violence on the part of any individuals.'

However, he stated bluntly that 'the determined campaign on our part to maintain a method of living beneficial to both races, will, if necessary, be worn on the economic field of battle.' Some of the existing 60-odd councils in Mississippi have been reported as encouraging their members to use economic pressure (loss of employment, withdrawal of financial aid, etc.) to discourage Negro residents from participating in elections and activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a group which last night's speaker labeled as 'subversive communist-inspired and financed and encouraged by the pseudo-liberal elements of the North and East.'

"A graduate of the University of Mississippi and the author of a booklet, 'Black Monday,' which attacks the legal and sociological basis of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions on school segregation in May, 1954, BRADY first traced the historical background of the Negro minority in this country from the beginning of slave trade in 1620 through the beginning of the Civil War.

"Slavery he termed as 'a moral wrong which had to go,' adding that 'while the South has given the Negro race all that we can, in good conscience, afford, we realize fully that he has not received the treatment at our hands that he should.'

"We know too that no human being can mistreat another and escape paying a terrific price. That is God's law of retribution and is as fixed and immutable as the law of gravity,' he said.

"But our past errors do not mean that we should attempt to remedy them by attempting to integrate that which cannot be integrated. We were forced to try it during Reconstruction and it was abandoned in the interest of both races.'

"The speaker centered most of his fire on the illegal procedure by which the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution



ME 105-121

"was enacted and pointed out that despite this the Cruikshank case which upheld the police powers of the individual states and the Plessey vs. Ferguson (separate but equal) case enabled the Negro and white races to live and work together in the South under an unusual but workable system 'until these long-standing interpretations were destroyed by the travesty on justice in May, 1954.'

"Supreme Courts have erred before, and they will err again, and we have a moral basis for opposing an amendment which was illegally adopted and a decision which was inspired by sociology rather than law.

"Our opposition is not confused, and since denunciation and abuse are the weapons of the frustrated and uncontrolled, we should not resort to them. But neither should we be misled by the neo-socialist religious leadership and leftwing press and educational spokesmen who would beguile us.'

"Referring to several books of the Bible as religious justification for the belief that 'each race and species should cleave unto its own kind,' Brady concluded his hour and a half talk with an appeal for a Citizens' Council 'excluding from our deliberations and marking as sixth columnists those who tell us there is another way to solve this dilemma, those easy-going fellows who say that we should let time run its course and who will not join us.'

"Following the speaker, Mr. Williams conducted the formation of the council pledging that it would be dedicated to maintaining segregation in the public schools of this county. [redacted] was asked to open the meeting with an invocation."

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The previously referred to article from the September 30, 1955 issue of the "Delta Democrat Times," Greenville, Mississippi, contained the following statement issued by the temporary President G. RAMSEY RUSSELL:

"The Greenville Citizen's Council is a Mississippi non-profit corporation to be governed by the Board of Directors elected by the membership, consisting of not more than 50 nor less than 25 directors. The officers are elected by the Board of Directors and will consist of a president, three vice-presidents and a secretary-treasurer. The Board of Directors is authorized to appoint



ME 105-121

"an Executive Committee consisting of not less than eight nor more than twelve members. This Executive Committee will also serve as a Membership Committee.

"The by-laws of the corporation provide that the corporation may be dissolved at any time by the Board of Directors without reference to the membership.

"At the meeting held last night temporary officers and a temporary Executive Committee were elected by the Board of Directors to serve pending the completion of the full slate of the directorate.

"Elected as temporary president was G. Ramsey Russell, temporary vice-presidents, John D. Causey, Dr. E. H. Winn, Jr., and Frank Baird. J. C. Ramsey was elected as temporary secretary-treasurer.

"The list of directors elected at the meeting is as follows:

Frank Baird, John D. Causey, Kenneth F. Edwards, Holland Felts, V. C. Hammett, Jr., Dr. Ben F. Hand, H. H. Huddleston, Karl E. Kremser, John W. Kirk, Gilder McCool, John A. Martin, Doyle K. Morrow, Jere B. Nash, Sr., Sam Neyman, Jr., Ramsey Russell, L. T. Sloan, Jerome Costello, Conwell Sykes, George S. Taylor, Paul H. Watson, Jeff P. Wilkerson, Wade S. Wineman, N. E. Wingate, Dr. E. H. Winn, Jr., J. C. Ramsey, John L. McCorkle.

"The meeting was attended by 300 citizens of Greenville and was addressed by John Satterfield (of Jackson) president of the Mississippi State Bar Association.

"Satterfield told the group that the organization is not anti-Negro, but is anti-integration and anti-National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"The statement continued:

"Attending from Clarksdale were P. F. Williams, owner of Delta Hardware Co., E. P. Peacock, Jr., president of the Bank of Clarksdale, S. H. Kyle, former State Senator and Coahoma County planter and Cage Brewer, attorney.

"Attending from Greenwood were Ellett Lawrence, owner of Lawrence Printing Co., J. H. Peebles, president of the Bank of

ME 105-121

"Commerce of Greenwood and Tom Barrentine, owner of Barrentine Mfg. Co. The meeting was addressed briefly by P. F. Williams and Tom Barrentine.

"The Executive Committee consists of the temporary chairman, the three vice-presidents, the secretary-treasurer, Kenneth Edwards, Conwell Sykes, Wade S. Wineman, George Taylor, Jeff Wilkerson and Gilder McCool.

"The following powers are vested with the Board of Directors: To decide matters of policy; to elect an Executive Committee with such power and authority as the Board of Directors shall deem advisable, and to dissolve the corporation at any time within its sole discretion, and with full and exclusive jurisdiction over the requirements for membership and the grounds for expulsion from the membership, and they may, by majority vote, expel any member at any time.

"The objective of the organization as listed on the application for membership is as follows:

"The objective of the Greenville Citizens Council shall be to maintain separation of the white and colored races in the public schools of Greenville and in all public places used for amusement, recreation or service of food or drink which have customarily maintained such separation in the past. Members of the Council pledge themselves to give their full support to the local School Board in the carrying out of its announced plan of maintaining separate schools for white and colored children and its well advanced effort to provide adequate school facilities for colored children.

"The organizational meeting was closed, but future meetings of the Citizen's Council which will be called by the Board of Directors will be public, Russell said.

"He stressed that this is not in any sense of the word a secret organization but one 'whose actions and accomplishments must be known by the citizenry as a whole in order for the organization to accomplish its objectives.'

"Commenting on Satterfield's statement that the Citizen's Council was not Anti-Negro, Russell said the organization encourages and asks for the cooperation of the leaders of the Negro race to 'help us to solve our local problems.'

ME 105-121

"He said the charter of the organization was patterned after the Jackson Citizen's Council's charter.

"Applications for membership in the organization will be issued by J. C. Ramsey, temporary secretary-treasurer, at Henderson and Baird Hardware Co. Annual dues are \$5 payable with the aplication."

- P -

ME 105-121

INFORMANTS

Careful consideration has been given to the use of T-symbols in this report, and they have been used only where deemed absolutely necessary.

T-1 is [redacted] whose identity is being protected at his request. Information furnished by [redacted] is contained in Serial 125 of Memphis file 105-121, which is his letter dated 7/14/55 addressed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Memphis, Tennessee.

\* \* \*

One copy of this report is being furnished the New Orleans Division for information, inasmuch as information relating to persons in that Division is contained herein.

\* \* \*

LEADS

THE MEMPHIS DIVISION

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue to obtain and report further activities of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi as well as individual Citizens' Councils.

REFERENCES: Report SA GEORGE A. EVERETT dated 5-23-55 at Memphis  
Bureau letter to Memphis 9-21-55  
Memphis letter to Director 9-30-55  
Bureau Air Tel to Memphis 10-3-55  
Memphis Air Tel to Director 10-6-55  
Little Rock letter to Director 10-13-55

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 11-16-55

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-122)

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Enclosed herewith are five copies of the report of  
SA GEORGE A. EVERETT dated 11-16-55 at Memphis, Tennessee.  
It is suggested that all names appearing in this report  
indexed.

Enclosures (5) ENCLOSURE 4

GAB:BN  
(3)

REGISTERED MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-11-90 BY 293969

RECORDED - 5

FBI

105-34237

463

Office M

2 • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Rosen

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/87 BY 60247M25

DATE: 1/18/55

FROM : F. L. Price

SUBJECT:

MASS EXODUS OF NEGROES FROM THE STATE  
OF MISSISSIPPI AS A RESULT OF THE TILL  
CASE AND WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL ACTIVITIESASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI

The Department by memorandum of 11/15/55 advised that at a conference with Olney, Mr. Maxwell Rabb of the White House staff had stated he had information to the effect that for the period between September 9 and October 13, 1955, the records of the Greyhound Bus Terminal in the city of LeFlore, Mississippi, showed there had been over 1,500 one-way tickets to Chicago sold and in the city of Tchula, Mississippi, more than 700 tickets were sold, indicating a mass exodus of Negroes from that state. The Department requested that in connection with the current investigation of the activities of Citizens' Councils and for the possible use of the Attorney General before the Hennings Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, it be determined by "discreet inquiry" whether or not there is, in fact, such an exodus.

The "Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide" and a check with the Bureau of the Census reflected that in 1950 the population of the city of LeFlore, Mississippi, was only 27 individuals and the population of the city of Tchula, Mississippi, was only 927. A check with the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Washington, D. C., revealed there is not a Greyhound Bus Terminal in the city of LeFlore, Mississippi.

ACTION:

(1) In view of the above, Mr. A. B. Caldwell, Chief, Civil Rights Section, Criminal Division, was contacted by Supervisors [ ] and [ ] of the Civil Rights Unit on 11/17/55 for further clarification of the request. Mr. Caldwell said that the investigation was not in connection with any civil rights matter inasmuch as there did not appear to be any civil rights question involved but that the inquiry was desired in connection with the investigation presently being conducted concerning the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi. It was pointed out to Mr. Caldwell that this investigation could not be done very discreetly inasmuch as any contact with bus terminals would in all probability result in its being made known to some member of the Citizens' Councils. It was further pointed out that bus company records would probably not show the number of tickets sold white and colored persons since Interstate Commerce Commission's regulations probably prevented the use of different tickets to white and colored. The discrepancies in the figures as shown by the Bureau of the Census and in the information furnished by Mr. Rabb were pointed out together with the fact that there is no Greyhound Terminal in LeFlore, Mississippi.

Tolson  
Boardman  
Belmont  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy

RECORDED-45  
INDEXED - 45

16 NOV 25 1955

EX-1058



Memorandum to Mr. Rosen

Mr. Caldwell stated, in view of the above, that it was not necessary to contact bus terminals or other travel agencies, but inquiry should be made of our field offices covering Mississippi as to any information they might have concerning the matter and such offices should only contact established sources and informants to determine whether or not there has, in fact, been any mass migration of Negroes from the State of Mississippi.

(2) A memorandum confirming the conversation with Mr. Caldwell is attached.

(3) As this inquiry has been requested in connection with the current investigation of the activities of the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, this memorandum should be forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division so that appropriate instructions may be issued to the New Orleans and Memphis Offices. *MR. BRUMGARDNER ADVISED*

*9:35 AM 11/18/55 clm*

Enclosure *sent 11-18-55*  
cc: 1 - Mr. Belmont

WMA:ate  
(7)

*WMA*  
*Will handled. Obviously the original request for clm was too broad & impractical.*  
*K.*

*R*  
*quit clm*  
*sent to each*  
*cc: Mr. Belmont*  
*11/18/55*  
*JHC*



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: November 11, 1955

FROM : Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General,  
Criminal Division

WO:ABC:ARC:W:Krowd

SUBJECT: Mass exodus of Negroes from the State of  
Mississippi, as a result of the Till cases  
and White Citizens Council activities.144-40-116 Holloman  
144-2-130 Miss Gandy*White Citizens Council of Mississippi arranged*

On Wednesday, November 9, Mr. Maxwell Rabb, and other members of the White House staff, conferred with me concerning the Department's action in the recent Till murder and kidnapping cases, which occurred in the State of Mississippi. During the course of the conference Mr. Rabb stated he had received information to the effect that as a result of the "reign of terror" now prevalent in that State, there was a mass exodus of Negro residents. His information indicated that between September 9 and October 13, the records of the Greyhound Bus Terminal in the city of Le Flore, alone, there had been over 1500 one-way tickets sold to Chicago, and in the city of Tehula, more than 700.

It is therefore desirable to have a discreet inquiry made of the various bus terminal facilities and other travel agencies in Mississippi, to determine whether or not there is in fact, such a mass migration of colored people from the State of Mississippi. This information is desired not only in connection with the current investigation of the activities of the Citizens Councils, but it is anticipated that it may be used by the Attorney General in discussing federal law enforcement policies in Mississippi generally, as well as numerous infringements of constitutional rights, in his appearance before the Hennings Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

EX-118  
NOV 16 1955RECORDED - 77  
INDEXED - 77  
EX-118

105-34237-94

NOV 16 1955  
adMemo P. Rosen 11/8/55  
memo to HAO Olney 11/10/55ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/15/01 BY 60400/MLG

918421 EPH:mj

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

November 18, 1955

Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/12/01 BY 60244mm

MASS EXODUS OF NEGROES FROM THE STATE  
OF MISSISSIPPI AS A RESULT OF THE TILL  
CASE AND WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

Reference is made to your memorandum of  
November 15, 1955, requesting certain inquiry in this  
matter.

This will confirm a conversation between Mr. A. B.  
Caldwell, Chief, Civil Rights Section, Criminal Division,  
and Bureau representatives on November 17, 1955, concerning  
this matter.

Mr. Caldwell was advised that a check with  
Bureau of the Census reflected that the city of LaFlore,  
Mississippi, in 1950 had a population of only 27 persons  
and that the city of Tchula, Mississippi, had a population  
of 927. He was also advised that a check with the Grey-  
hound Terminal in Washington reflected that there is no  
Greyhound Terminal in the city of LaFlore, Mississippi.

It was pointed out to Mr. Caldwell that inquiry  
of bus terminals in Mississippi would in all probability  
result in the inquiry being known and that the records  
of the bus terminals would probably not be divided as to  
white and colored tickets sold in view of Interstate  
Commerce Commission's regulations. Mr. Caldwell then  
stated that it would not be necessary to contact the  
bus terminals and other travel agencies but the inquiry  
should be handled by the field offices covering the State  
of Mississippi contacting their established sources of  
information and confidential informants to ascertain  
whether or not there has been any appreciable number  
of Negroes leaving the state.

In accordance with the instructions of Mr.  
Caldwell, our Memphis and New Orleans Offices are being  
instructed to handle this inquiry in the above manner and  
you will be advised of the results.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WMA:ate  
(9)

NOTE:

Cover memo to Rosen, same  
caption, 11/18/55, WMA:ate.

DEC 2 1955

COMM - FBI

NOV 18 1955

MAILED 20

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: November 23, 1955

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-121)

SUBJECT: LEE COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reference is made to Bureau Letter to Memphis dated November 15, 1955.

This is to advise that the LEE COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL, recently formed at Tupelo, Mississippi, is affiliated with the ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI and is not a separate and distinct organization.

In the future, pertinent information concerning this organization will be reported in connection with the activities of the ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI.

SHA:mfs  
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/21/01 BY 60247NLS EPL/MLM

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NOV 28 1955

EX-125

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Koss

L BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEPARTMENT1  
1

NOVEMBER 21, 1955

AIRTEL

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

SAC, MEMPHIS

Transmit the following message to:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 65362 NLS  
8/18/01

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI, IS X.  
There is enclosed one copy for each office receiving instant communication of a memorandum from AAG Olney dated 11-15-55 captioned "Mass Exodus of Negroes from the State of Mississippi, as a result of the Till cases and White Citizens Council Activities."

On 11-17-55 A. B. Caldwell, Chief, Civil Rights Section, Criminal Division of the Department, was contacted for further clarification concerning the above request. Caldwell stated the investigation was not in connection with any civil rights matter inasmuch as there did not appear to be any civil rights question involved but the inquiry was desired in connection with the investigation presently being conducted concerning captioned matter. It was pointed out to Caldwell this investigation could not be done very discreetly inasmuch as any contact with bus terminals would in all probability result in its being made known to some member of the citizens councils. It was further pointed out that bus company records would probably not show the number of tickets sold to white and colored persons since Interstate Commerce Commission regulations probably prevent the use of different tickets to white and colored. It was pointed out to Caldwell that the "Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide" and a check with the Bureau of the Census reflected that in 1950 the population of the City of La Plere, Mississippi, was only 27 individuals and the population of the City of Tchula was only 927. It was further pointed out to Caldwell that a check with the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Washington, D. C., revealed there is no such terminal in the City of LaPlere.

Caldwell stated in view of the above it is not necessary to contact bus terminals or other travel agencies but inquiry should be made of our field offices covering the State of Mississippi as to any information they might have concerning the matter and such offices should only contact established sources and informants to determine whether or not there has in fact been any mass migration of Negroes from the State of Mississippi.

The Memphis and New Orleans Offices are instructed to conduct immediately the necessary investigation in this matter in compliance with the Department's request and Caldwell's clarification thereof. This matter should be handled expeditiously and the desired results should be furnished to reach the Bureau no later than 11-28-55 without fail.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Bureau File 105-34237

RECEIVED  
RECORDED  
EX - 130

2cc  
JHK  
SENT VIA

M

Per

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED - 22

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

November 28, 1955

Director, FBI

EX - 123  
7/0  
ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS  
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - A  
FBI File 105-34237

There is being furnished you herewith for your information a copy of a memorandum dated November 16, 1955, from G-2, Department of the Army. This memorandum concerns policy adopted by the Army in connection with military reservists who have indicated intentions to become affiliated with Citizens Councils in Mississippi.

Enclosure

CFW:lfj:sad  
(4) *sad*

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080  
ON 3/15/77 LED/rjg

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMM - FBI  
NOV 28 1955  
MAILED 25  
NOV 28 1955

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FBI - WASH DC  
RECEIVED

*Handwritten:*  
J.B.  
CUT  
B.10/27

WCI

*Handwritten:*  
Ofer

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

MEMPHIS

REPORT MADE AT <b>MEMPHIS</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>11-28-55</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>11-25-55</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>GEORGE A. EVERETT</b>	MRS
TITLE <b>ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - X</b>	
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:  Sources indicate many Negroes leaving Mississippi.  - P -  DETAILS: On 11-25-55, [redacted] Greenwood, Mississippi, Police Department, advised that several white storekeepers in the Negro residential area of Greenwood have told him that their business has been affected by the emigration of numerous Negro families. He stated there was no indication of a mass movement, but that individual families were leaving steadily. He could not estimate the number of Negroes who have moved from Greenwood.  [redacted] Deputy Sheriff, Greenwood, on 11-25-55 stated that there had been a noticeable lessening of automobile registrations by Negroes during the recent October registration. (Mississippi auto registrations expire October 31 each year.) He stated the personal property tax books are not yet open.  [redacted] farmer, Philipp, Mississippi, a farming community 18 miles north of Greenwood, in Tallahatchie County, on November 25, 1955, stated there has been no noticeable migration of farm Negroes to date, but there possibly would be a number to move away after crop settlement time in December.  On 11-25-55, ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Winona, Mississippi, Executive Secretary of the captioned Association, was contacted on another matter cc to Olney [redacted] w/ Lpt 12-5-55 CCW				
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <b>COPIES DESTROYED</b> <b>479 APR 27 1972</b> COPIES OF THIS REPORT <b>5 - Bureau (105-34237) (AM - REGISTERED)</b> <b>2 - Memphis (105-121)</b> <b>DEC 9 1955</b>			DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>105-34237-98</b> <b>24 NOV 30 1955</b> <b>INT. SEC.</b>	

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ME #105-121

relating to Citizens Council activity. PATTERSON asked if SA EVERETT had seen the article which appeared in several Mississippi newspapers not long ago reporting the announcement of one UPTON SISSON of his intention to start a movement to pay Negroes \$1000 each to leave the state. PATTERSON stated SISSON is a newly elected State Legislator from Gulfport, Mississippi, who has no organization, but made the statement as a publicity stunt to enlist support for his plan to reapportion the State Legislature. PATTERSON said there was apparently no need for the offer, since he had heard rumors that about three months ago 10,000 Negroes per week were arriving in Chicago from the South, and that the Chicago authorities were attempting to halt the migration. He was not questioned concerning this matter and was given no indication that the information was of interest.

- P -



ME #105-121

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Memphis and New Orleans dated 11-21-55.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: November 16  
1955

Tolson ✓  
Boardman ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Harbo ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Parsons ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tamm ✓  
Sizoo ✓  
Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holloman ✓  
Gandy ✓

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60247WJG

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS  
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI (ACCM)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
BUFILE 105-34327

In a memorandum from Mr. Nichols to Mr. Tolson dated 11-9-55 captioned "William J. Simmons, 734 Fairview Street, Jackson, Mississippi, The Citizens Councils of Mississippi," mention was made that J. Francis Pohlhaus, counsel, Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wrote the Director on 9-12-55 stating in substance that William J. Simmons, one of the organizers of the captioned organization, was discharged from the Navy as a security risk because of his association with Nazi groups in Europe. The Director noted "What have we done re letter of Sept. 12, 1955, from Pohlhaus other than referring it to ONI. It is possible the Citizens Council of Mississippi may be considered by A.G. as subversive. H."

The New Orleans and Memphis Offices have been actively investigating the ACCM since December 1954 inasmuch as the Department has indicated the activities of this organization will be considered for possible designation under Executive Order 10450. Reports submitted by these offices have been regularly forwarded to the Department, as well as the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

In connection with Pohlhaus' letter of 9-12-55 the Bureau in a memorandum dated 9-16-55 referred this information to ONI and requested ONI to furnish any data to substantiate the allegation made by him. Copies of Pohlhaus' letter were also furnished the New Orleans and Memphis Offices.

ONI in a memorandum dated 10-24-55 informed the Bureau that Simmons was discharged on 8-15-42 because of a history of psychopathic state of the schizoid type. ONI files contain no additional information re Simmons.

On 11-1-55 a photostat of this ONI memorandum was sent to the New Orleans Office, office of origin in the captioned case, in order that this data re Simmons may be included in the next report submitted by that office on the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi. Copies of this report will, of course, be disseminated immediately upon receipt at the Bureau to the Department, as well as the interested intelligence agencies.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For your information.

MJM:bas  
(4)

1 - Mr. Boardman  
1 - Mr. Belmont

1 -

NOV 30 1955

1955

Excluded this information. It has been in progress and done. J. K.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

✓  
2/3

Prefer summary  
memo on it.

OK.

Stm  
2/3

W  
HJB  
HJB

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE:

November 15,

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/12/01

BY 60247 NLS/EP/LLH

1955

FROM : A. H. Belmont

914421

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
Bufile 105-34237

cc Mr. Boardman

cc Mr. Belmont

cc [ ]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In a memorandum from [ ] to Mr. Rosen dated 11/13/55 data re the Attorney General's visit in Chicago on 11/12-13/55 was set forth as telephonically furnished the Bureau by SAC Hostetter. The Attorney General mentioned to SAC Hostetter the alleged murder of Emmett Louis Till, a Negro youth in Mississippi, and stated he would have to give consideration to citing the "Council" i.e. Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. The Director noted "What have we on this outfit? and has it been disseminated to Dept?"

BACKGROUND:

Bufiles reflect the first of the citizens councils in Mississippi was organized in July, 1954, allegedly to maintain school segregation without violence. These citizens councils are for the most part composed of prominent citizens and disclaim any affiliation with or similarity to the Ku Klux Klan. The councils intend to achieve their purpose through economic pressure on members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, individuals seeking Negro votes, Negro voters and integrationists.

MEMBERSHIP:

The annual report issued by the captioned organization dated August, 1955, stated that in less than a year's time 253 citizens councils in Mississippi have been developed with a white male membership of over 60,000.

BUREAU INVESTIGATION:

The Internal Security Division of the Department in a letter dated 12/10/54 suggested investigation of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi with a view toward designating it under Executive Order 10450. According to the letter particular emphasis should be placed on any policies or activities which indicate that the organization has "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States."

ENCLOSURE

The New Orleans and Memphis Offices have been investigating this organization since December, 1954, and to date reports have been regularly forwarded to the Department as well as the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces.

RECORDED - 77

105-34237-100

NOV 30 1955

MJM:d1j (4)

INT. SEC. DIV.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

Fred A. Anderson, Jr., attorney and officer of ACCM on 8/27/54 allegedly was among a group who invaded a meeting of the Amite County, Mississippi, NAACP and without authority took pertinent records belonging to the organization. Anderson, at the time, was president of the school board and reportedly no permission had been obtained by NAACP to hold the meeting in the school. On 11/1/54 Department declined prosecution for violation of Civil Rights Statutes.

Tom P. Brady, one of the leading figures in ACCM, is a vice president of Mississippi Bar and a circuit judge. Brady is author of book entitled "Black Monday," which gets its name from the date of Monday, 5/17/54 when US Supreme Court handed down its now famous decision re segregation in public schools. Major portion of the book deals with an analysis of the background of the racial problem with comments on decision of the Supreme Court. Citizens Council leaders have referred to this book as an unofficial text for the Citizens Councils.

William J. Simmons is the administrator of the ACCM. In a letter dated 10/24/55 in response to a Bureau request ONI advised Simmons was discharged from US Navy 8/15/42 because of a history of psychopathic state of the schizoid type. Bureau files contain no derogatory information re the other ten officers.

Alleged Action Taken by ACCM to Implement Their Programs:

In 1/55 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) alleged economic pressure brought against Negroes in Mississippi by representatives of Farmers Home Administration (FHA) in collaboration with ACCM. A review of FHA files and interviews by Bureau Agents reflect loans were refused because some applicants failed to comply with regulations and loan standards, while others actually were granted FHA loans. No evidence obtained that FHA representatives collaborated with Citizens Council members to refuse loans to Negroes.

Article in "Look" magazine 3/22/55 alleged economic pressure exerted on Negroes who had paid poll taxes and registered to vote. Interviews with certain Negroes by Bureau Agents reflected they had been approached on an individual basis by Citizens Council members and requested to remove names from list of registered voters. Some have suffered economically for failure to do so; however, no threats were made against them and no violence occurred.

OBSERVATIONS:

The Department in a memorandum dated 10/25/55 in commenting upon Citizens Councils and States' Rights movements advised "these organizations claim they are opposed to any use of force or violence in preserving

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

segregation. In connection with designation under Executive Order No. 10450, it would be necessary to show that such an organization adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution. While the Executive Order refers only to organizational policy, the acts of individual members thereof might reflect such policy. It is requested, therefore, that you bring to our attention, insofar as may be practical, all acts of force or violence committed by individuals who are members of such organizations."

In accordance with the Department's instructions quoted above re citations under Executive Order 10450, all offices which are conducting inquiries relative to prosegregation organizations were instructed by Bulet 11/1/55 to furnish the Bureau the data requested by the Department on a continuing basis.

The Bureau is presently aware of and is conducting inquiries into the activities of numerous organizations aside from the ACCM formed throughout the southern states who advocate and perpetuate segregation. Copies of reports concerning these organizations are disseminated locally to intelligence agencies and at the Bureau to the Department, G-2, ONI and OSI.

A review of the file re ACCM indicates considerable adverse publicity has been directed at the Citizens Councils by the NAACP yet the Bureau's investigation of the ACCM to date has not established that the organization or its members have advocated or committed any acts of force or violence in preserving segregation. As a matter of fact, as set forth above, the Bureau has disproved allegations made by the NAACP.

The Bureau will continue the investigation of the ACCM and will submit reports to the Department on a continuing basis, at least until a decision is made by the Attorney General whether or not he will take any action to cite the organization under Executive Order 10450.

ACTION:

The activities of the ACCM will continue to be closely followed.

Right  
H.



Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

DETAILS: ~~Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi~~ - Summary

In the attached memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman dated 11/15/55 re the ACCM, the Director instructed that a summary memorandum concerning this organization be prepared.

I. ORIGIN

[redacted] attorney, Indianola, Mississippi, advised that the first Citizens Council in Mississippi was organized at Indianola on 7/11/54 when numerous people became alarmed over rumors that several local Negro families planned to send their children to white schools when the schools opened in September, 1954.

A mimeographed open letter, a copy of which was mailed to the Memphis Office, dated 10/15/54 and distributed by the ACCM, disclosed that the state-wide association was formed on 10/12/54 at a meeting at Winona, Mississippi, by representatives of Citizens Councils from 21 counties.

II. AIMS AND PURPOSES

On March 28, 1955, Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary of the ACCM, furnished the Memphis Office a copy of the constitution of the ACCM which lists the following purposes: "This association is dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquillity in our communities and in our state and to the preservation of our States' Rights."

[redacted] mentioned above, advised on 2/8/55 that he drafted the constitution adopted by the ACCM. He furnished a printed sheet listing the committees to be formed in various Councils, reflecting the duties of each committee. [redacted] stated these represent all of the aims and objectives covered by the constitution. These are briefly summarized as follows: (1) Political and Elections Committee - Screen all political candidates against those seeking the Negro vote; combat the Negro bloc vote; discourage Negro registration by every legal means. (2) Information and Education Committee - Educate all citizens, black and white, to advantages of segregation and dangers of integration. (3) Membership and Finance Committee - Seek white patriotic voters for membership; mobilize public opinion. (4) Legal Advisory Committee - Anticipate moves by agitators and devise legal means for handling problems that may arise.



Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

[redacted]  
Greenwood, Mississippi, and a former [redacted] advised on 2/1/55 that he is a member of the Citizens Council of Greenwood, which has for its primary purpose the preservation of segregation in the schools. The main purpose behind the formation of the Councils, [redacted] said, is to raise money and organize support to combat legally the political pressures of the NAACP with regard to segregation.

III. MEMBERSHIP

[redacted] Jackson, Mississippi, made available to the New Orleans Office the annual report issued by the ACCM, Winona, Mississippi, dated August, 1955.

The report stated that since July, 1954, when the ACCM was formed the organization has now developed 253 Citizens Councils in Mississippi with a white male membership of over 60,000.

In regard to the membership itself, a review of reports submitted by the New Orleans and Memphis Offices covering the Citizens Councils throughout the State of Mississippi reflects that for the most part the Councils are composed of prominent citizens, such as state legislators, doctors, bankers, lawyers, businessmen, teachers, etc.

Former [redacted] mentioned above, has stated that leading citizens in the city of Greenwood, Mississippi, are officers and members of the Citizens Council and are thoroughly loyal Americans who feel that segregation is desirable and necessary in the South. According to [redacted] at least 90 per cent of the membership would immediately withdraw if any form of violence was advocated. [redacted] said there is no connection between the Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan and the Citizens Council is on record as opposing Klan tactics.

[redacted] and member of the [redacted] [redacted] advised on 2/4/55 that the Citizens Councils desired to cooperate with Negroes who feel that separate but equal facilities are best in the South while economic pressure is to be aimed only at agitators. [redacted] said the Citizens Councils will not tolerate any illegal action and that known "hotheads," irresponsible agitators, criminals and the like are not eligible for membership.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

IV. OFFICERS

The letterhead of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Winona, Mississippi, reflects there are 14 directors and officers in the organization.

The principal officer is Robert B. Patterson, the executive secretary who is a plantation owner.

Bureau files reflect that Patterson corresponded with the Director on November 29, 1953; January 12, 1954; December 29, 1954; and September 15, 1955, concerning the general issue of segregation and the activities of the ACCM. In his letter of September 15, 1955, Patterson offered complete cooperation to the Bureau together with access to the files and meetings of the ACCM. (100-0-29390; 100-0-29476; 105-34237-3,38)

Bureau files also reflect that the name, Robert B. Patterson, Holly Ridge, Mississippi, appears on a list of addresses to which copies of the February, 1955, issue of "The Political Reporter" were mailed on March 7, 1955. Bureau files reflect that "The Political Reporter," published in Memphis, Tennessee, is an anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Communist publication. (65-61520-5, page 10)

Bureau files also indicate that one Robert B. Patterson, possibly identical with Robert B. Patterson, Holly Ridge, Mississippi, contributed an article to the August, 1954, issue of "The Political Reporter," mentioned above. (65-61520-18)

Fred A. Anderson, Jr., attorney of Gloster, Mississippi, on 8/27/54 allegedly was among a group of men, including the sheriff, who invaded a meeting of the Amite County, Mississippi, Branch of the NAACP and without authority took books and letters belonging to this branch. This meeting was being held in a school and Anderson, at the time, was president of the school board. It was reported that no permission had been obtained by the NAACP to hold this meeting in the school.

A report concerning the incident was furnished to the Bureau and on November 1, 1954, the Department advised the Bureau that under the circumstances "it was not believed that prosecution for violation of the Civil Rights Statutes could be successfully maintained" and no further investigation was desired. (44-8081)

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

Tom P. Brady, one of the leading figures in the ACCM, is a vice president of the Mississippi Bar Association and a circuit judge. Brady is the author of a book published by the ACCM entitled "Black Monday," which book gets its name from the date of Monday, May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision on segregation. Leaders of the Citizens Council have referred to this book as an unofficial text for the organization of Citizens Councils.

The major portion of the book deals with an analysis of the background of the racial problem with comments on the decision of the Supreme Court. (105-33955-10)

Bureau files also reflect that Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven, Mississippi, is a member of the Legal Committee of the Federation for Constitutional Government, which is a state-wide conference of representatives from many southern states who formed the organization to create a co-ordinating agency to work with various state organizations in preserving Constitutional Government, which includes States' Rights. (105-36394-1N4)

Bureau files reflect that Judge Tom P. Brady on 10/25/50 wired the Director to obtain the "estimate number of Communist and fellow travelers in USA" for a speech he was to deliver. Judge Brady's wire was acknowledged 10/26/50 by the Bureau.

William James Simmons of Jackson, Mississippi, is the administrator of the ACCM.

Bureau files reflect Simmons was the subject of an Internal Security - G investigation in 1942 on the allegation that he had ridiculed the allied intelligence services and had praised the German Gestapo. A psychiatrist at Charity Hospital, New Orleans, Louisiana, on May 6, 1942, advised Bureau Agents that Simmons was a psychopathic case and could become a fanatic to further any cause in which he believed.

On September 16, 1955, the Bureau requested ONI to furnish any data concerning Simmons in the possession of that agency. In a memorandum dated 10/24/55 ONI advised that Simmons was discharged from the Navy on 8/14/42 because of a history of psychopathic state of schizoid type. (105-34237-48)

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

The remaining officers of the ACCM are [redacted] State Treasurer, Winona, Mississippi; [redacted] Finance Chairman, Greenwood, Mississippi; [redacted] Jackson, Mississippi; [redacted] Senatobia, Mississippi; [redacted] Inverness, Mississippi; [redacted] Lexington, Mississippi; [redacted] Carthage, Mississippi; [redacted] Itta Bena, Mississippi; [redacted] Brooksville, Mississippi; [redacted] Winona, Mississippi. Bureau files contain no pertinent derogatory information concerning these individuals. (105-34237-38)

V. ALLEGED ACTION TAKEN BY ACCM TO IMPLEMENT THEIR PROGRAMS

The Department in a memorandum dated 3/3/55 requested the Bureau to include in the investigation of the ACCM allegations that certain Negro citizens in Mississippi transmitted affidavits to the NAACP concerning economic pressure brought against them by officials of the Farmers Home Administration in collaboration with the ACCM.

The director of the FHA in Jackson, Mississippi, advised the New Orleans Office that this matter of alleged discrimination on the part of two of his field agents at Lexington, Mississippi, was brought to his attention upon release of publicity that the ACCM was using Government agencies to carry out its program of economic pressure.

The FHA files reflected that the affidavits submitted to the NAACP by these Negroes alleged the FHA refused farm operating loans because the applicants were Negroes and/or members of the NAACP.

The files of the FHA reflected these loans were refused because the applicants had failed to comply with the regulations and loan standards of the FHA which made it impossible to justify the loans.

Further inquiry by the FHA director at Jackson, Mississippi, revealed that one of the representatives of the FHA accused by the NAACP of exerting this economic pressure was, in fact, a Negro himself and, therefore, not a member of the ACCM. The other representative of FHA, a white man, so accused by the NAACP emphatically denied he had ever been associated with any of the Citizens Councils.

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

In regard to the charge made by the NAACP the Memphis Office interviewed a former president of the Belzoni, Mississippi Chapter of the NAACP who was aware of the affidavits sent to the New York office of the NAACP. He stated a group of Negro farmers in Holmes County, Mississippi, allegedly were denied FHA loans on their farms until publicity about the situation appeared in the papers. He stated since then all of these Negroes except four have obtained Government loans while of the remaining four, two lost their farms through foreclosure and two will be foreclosed. He said these four Negroes brought about their own economic troubles because of their own mismanagement.

The Department in a memorandum dated 3/24/55 called attention to an article which appeared in the 3/22/55 issue of "Look" magazine entitled "A Wave of Terror Threatens the South," written by Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Mississippi, "Delta Democrat - Times." The Department desired that Carter be interviewed since Carter's article referred to several incidents which would appear to be pertinent to the Bureau's investigation of the ACCM under the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

Carter's article actually referred to economic pressure against Negroes who had paid their poll taxes and had registered to vote. During interview Carter said two Negroes came to his office and told him the local Citizens Council at Belzoni, Mississippi, had compiled a list of names of Negroes who had registered to vote, which list was distributed to banks and public establishments. This list is referred to before entering into any transaction with Negroes, thus making it virtually impossible for Negroes whose names appear on the list to obtain credit, rent buildings or obtain employment.

<sup>were</sup>  
Interviews conducted with certain Negroes by Agents of the Memphis Office in connection with Carter's allegations in the "Look" magazine article reflected that these Negroes had been approached by white men on an individual basis and were requested to remove their names from the list of registered voters. If they did not comply they were warned that economic pressure would be exerted. All of the Negroes interviewed, however, stated that there have been no threats made against them and no violence has occurred, although some of them have suffered economically for their refusal to remove their names from the registered voters list.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: November 18, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60271NLS/KLMSUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI (ACCM)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
Bufile 105-34237

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Nease	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

SYNOPSIS:

In a memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman dated 11/15/55 re the captioned organization, the Director instructed that a summary memorandum concerning the organization be prepared.

Background, Aims and Purposes:

The first Citizens Council in Mississippi was organized on 7/11/54 and the state-wide ACCM was formed 10/12/54 by representatives of Citizens Councils from 21 counties. Avowed aims and purposes of ACCM are to preserve States' Rights and segregation in public schools through peaceful and legal means.

Membership:

The annual report of ACCM dated August, 1955, claims a white male membership of over 60,000 in 253 Citizens Councils throughout the state. [redacted] former [redacted] and member of ACCM, advised on 2/1/55 that membership for the most part consists of prominent citizens and members are thoroughly loyal Americans who feel segregation is desirable and necessary in the South. [redacted] said there is no connection between the Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan and the Citizens Council is on record as opposing Klan tactics.

Officers:

There are 14 directors and officers of ACCM. The principal officer is Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary and plantation owner. Files reflect Patterson received the 2/55 issue of "The Political Reporter," a pro-segregation paper published in Memphis and may have contributed an article to the paper in 8/54. Patterson has corresponded with the Bureau in 11/53, 1/54, 12/54 and 9/55 re the segregation issue and the activities of the ACCM. In letter in 9/55 Patterson offered complete cooperation to the Bureau, including access to files and meetings of ACCM.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont105-34237-100  
NOV 30 1955

(E) ~~CITIZEN~~  
SECURITY -

ATES' RIGHT  
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- INTERNAL  
).

Bureau inquiries concerning citizens councils and similar organizations engaged in pro-segregation activities have as their purpose: (1) to ascertain the influence in the organizations of Ku Klux Klan members and other advocates of illegal repressive tactics against minorities, (2) to determine whether their programs and activities bring groups within the purview of Executive Order 10450, and (3) to develop data indicating groups' potential for violence.

Conduct these inquiries strictly in accordance with the policy outlined below:

1. Advise Bureau promptly of formation of organizations; furnish on a continuing basis any additional pertinent data received.

2. Conduct no overt inquiry in absence of specific Bureau instructions.

3. Confine inquiries ordered by Bureau to contacts with established reliable sources who have been advised of our objectives and clearly understand the Bureau is not interested in nor inquiring concerning legitimate activities of responsible citizens groups.

4. The term "established sources" means public records, informants, confidential sources, panel sources, sources of information or citizens who in time-proved dealings have been found discreet, reliable and are in a position to furnish or obtain pertinent information.

5. Convert inquiries to full-scale investigations under 87D, Manual of Instructions, only on specific Bureau instructions.

Subject to the limitations of available coverage, reports, should reflect the founding, principles, aims and purposes, methods employed or advocated, identity of the officers and persons who are controlling figures within the organizations and describe any reported activities of interest engaged in by the organizations or their members.

10/25/55  
SAC LETTER NO. 55-66

- 4 -

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-8 BJS/eq  
ON 8/5/83

These instructions supercede all previous instructions concerning these cases and must be adhered to strictly. Promptly instruct all Agents of the Bureau's desires in this matter.

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105-44562-  
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REC-16 1955-60

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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0-b7c

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

November 30, 1955

Airtel

Transmit the following message to:

SAC, Memphis

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCIL OF MISSISSIPPI,  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X. ReBu airtel dated November 21, 1955.

Bufiles fail to reflect receipt of information  
requested in reBu airtel. This data should be submitted  
without further delay.

HOOVER

Bufile 105-34237

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60200/AL/EP/HM

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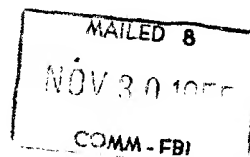
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105-34237-101  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CFW:dlj

(4)



DEC 6 1955

SENT VIA \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C  
cc Mr. Boardman  
cc Mr. Belmont  
cc [redacted]

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

November 29, 1955

Director, FBI

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI File 105-34237

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/15/81 BY 1603/247WJ  
916421

AMERICAN STATES' RIGHTS ASSOCIATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI File 105-27471

Reference is made to your memorandum dated  
November 22, 1955, in which you instructed that further  
investigation be conducted concerning the captioned  
organizations and specifically concerning the Citizens  
Council at Belzoni, Mississippi.

The Birmingham Office of this Bureau is being  
instructed to conduct further investigation concerning  
the American States' Rights Association. The results  
of this investigation will be furnished to you as heretofore.

As you are aware Gus Courts, president of the  
Belzoni, Mississippi, Chapter of the National Association  
for the Advancement of Colored People, was shot by an  
unknown individual on November 25, 1955. In connection  
with that shooting Mr. A. B. Caldwell, Chief, Civil Rights  
Section, Criminal Division of the Department, telephonically  
contacted a representative of this Bureau on November 26,  
1955, and requested the Bureau to conduct a limited inquiry.  
On November 27, 1955, Mr. Caldwell was furnished the results  
of the inquiry made concerning this shooting at which time  
he stated he did not desire any further investigation at  
this time.

Any inquiries made in the vicinity of Belzoni,  
Mississippi, at this time concerning the Citizens Council  
in that city will necessarily produce information relating  
to the shooting of Courts. Therefore, you are requested  
to advise whether further investigation of the Citizens  
Council in Belzoni should be conducted at this time.

2cc Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

Reference memo Belmont to Boardman dated November 28, 1955,  
captioned as above. CFW:dlj Birmingham being instructed by  
CFW:dlj separate communication.

(9)

COMM —  
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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/27/01 BY 60322/ML/S

916421 GP/LHY

105-34237

Date: November 30, 1955

To: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2  
Department of the Army  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Chief, Security Division

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS  
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

Reference is made to my memorandum dated November 9, 1955, in which you were advised that an inquiry was being conducted by this Bureau relative to the activities of the captioned organization and that you would be advised in the event this inquiry was converted into an investigation.

For your information an investigation of the captioned organization is now being conducted. The results thereof will be furnished you promptly.

2cc - Director of Naval Intelligence  
Department of the Navy  
The Pentagon  
Washington 25, D. C.

2cc - Director of Special Investigations BY COURIER SERVICE  
The Inspector General  
Department of the Air Force  
Building Tempo E  
4th and Adams Drive, S. W.  
Washington, D. C.

(Air Force only)  
BY COURIER SVC.  
12 DEC 1  
COMM - FBI

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CFW:mmf

(9)

NOV 30 1955  
COMM - FBI  
MAILED 24

RECORDED - 58

DEC 1 1955

FX - 121

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: December 1, 1955

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (105-00-70A)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 65267 WLS/EP  
915421 LSH

Rebulet to Atlanta November 3, 1955.

Bureau advice is sought as to whether instructions contained in last paragraph, Page 2 of relet applies to the National Citizens Protective Association, Inc., IS-X, (Bufile 105-16510, OO: St. Louis), which has been in existence since July, 1951. It is noted that copies of all St. Louis reports prepared regarding this organization (dated July 12, 1952, June 11, 1953, May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955) were disseminated to interested intelligencies on a local level at the time of their submission to the Bureau.

There are no other organizations which are the subjects of pending files in the St. Louis Division which might be construed as coming within the purview of relet.

- 2 - Bureau (105-34237)(AIR MAIL REGISTERED)
- 1 - 100-10834 (NCPA)
- 1 - 105-00-70A

CRO'C:mvs  
(4)

RECORDED - 60

10 DEC 3 1955

SAC, St. Louis (105-00-70A)

83  
December 8, 1955

Director, FBI (105-34237) - 104

RECORDED-87

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EX - 124

Reurlet December 1, 1955.

Instructions contained in last paragraph,  
page two, of Bureau letter to Atlanta dated  
November 3, 1955, do not apply to the National  
Citizens Protection Association, Inc.

cc - Bufile 105-16510 (NCPA)

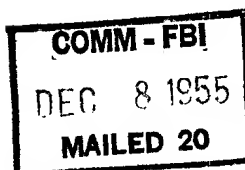
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(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/00 BY 4826 NLS 89/LH

915421

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Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

December 5, 1955

Director, FBI

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O  
CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES'  
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI FILE 105-34237

Reference is made to my memorandum dated October 28, 1955, in which information was furnished you concerning the racial situation in South Carolina.

There is being furnished you herewith one copy of a memorandum from the Savannah Office of this Bureau dated November 14, 1955, relating to the racial situation in the territory covered by that office which includes the Eastern District of South Carolina and the Southern District of Georgia.

Other offices of this Bureau conducting inquiries and investigations concerning organizations formed for the purpose of maintaining segregation have furnished information relative to incidents which have arisen in connection with racial situations. Information concerning these incidents has been furnished the Department previously in reports concerning possible civil rights and/or extortion violations.

Several offices have furnished information concerning the Southern Regional Council (SRC), information about which is set forth below.

Mr. Dan D. Rosenfelder, Director of Public Safety, Miami, Florida, made available information in March 1945 which revealed the SRC was an outgrowth of the consciousness among progressive Southerners of the need for a South-wide agency for the promotion of constructive social and economic reforms. Another factor contributing to the formation of the SRC was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond Conferences of 1942-1943, in which Southern leaders, white and Negro, met together to work for a better South. The SRC was chartered by the State of Georgia on January 5, 1944, and held its charter meeting on February 16, 1944.

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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Council represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. Although it is biracial in membership and staff, it is not exclusively a "race relations" organization. It believes in the improvement of economic, civil, political and educational conditions for the good of all the people.

105-34237-5  
COMM - 23  
RECORDED - 23  
PAGE 6  
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ON 3/15/77 LED/ra

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW  
1 DEC 9 1955  
WCTK  
WCTK

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

The SRC is a membership organization and is controlled by its members who make decisions on policy and program. The annual meeting is held in Atlanta, Georgia, on second Wednesday in October, and every member in good standing is entitled to vote either in person or by proxy. The Council is composed of a board of directors elected by the members; an executive committee and five standing committees elected by the board of directors and an executive staff which devotes its time to the promotion of the Council's program.

The Council believes the best methods for promoting social progress are honest discussion and cooperation, rather than agitation. Its functions are: (1) Research and survey to determine the facts and possibilities of constructive social action; (2) educational work through publications, press, radio and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies having liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies; and (5) the formation of constructive plans and proposals for the South that could be.

The Council operates in thirteen Southern states; Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia. Its voting members reside in these states. While the Council has a "regional" approach, it is not a defensive organization. It has declared its willingness to cooperate with like-minded organizations of a state, regional or national scope.

According to a news article appearing in the "Richmond Times-Dispatch" on November 3, 1955, the Virginia Council on Human Relations is the only organization that has been formed in Virginia since the United States Supreme Court's decision on the segregation question in schools which has as its major purpose the advocating of compliance. The Virginia Council on Human Relations according to an article appearing in the "Richmond Times-Dispatch" on May 16, 1955, was formed in February 1955 and is affiliated with the SRC with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. The article further stated that the Virginia Council on Human Relations will be financed in part by the Ford Foundation. Its officials, who are both white and Negro, have been identified chiefly as individuals connected in the fields of education and religion.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

On May 16, 1955, the "Richmond Times-Dispatch" carried an article reflecting that Dr. John H. Marion, Jr., pastor of the Bon Air Presbyterian Church, had submitted his resignation to become executive secretary of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Dr. Marion, who is white, was quoted as stating, "The council takes the position that compulsory segregation is out of accord with the spirit of democracy and only when segregation is put behind us will certain minority groups in our American life -- Negroes in particular -- be able to enjoy fully the freedom and opportunity to which they are entitled under the Constitution." In his comments Marion identified members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations as being "men and women of various faiths and races who have set their hands to the important task concerning the crucial problems that our nation and southern states confront today in the field of human relations."

The "Richmond Times-Dispatch" on November 6, 1955, relates that the Virginia Council on Human Relations is a 200-member organization with a program which was described briefly as follows: "Governor Stanley should declare that it is Virginia's intention to comply with the letter and spirit of the Supreme Court decisions, and a biracial commission should be appointed to offer positive, helpful leadership in bringing about an orderly transition to desegregated schools."

On July 28, 1955, a confidential informant of the Richmond Office who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is familiar with some Communist Party activities in the State of Virginia, related that he had ascertained that on July 15, 1955, two representatives of the Richmond Branch of the Communist Party had met with Dr. John Marion. The Communist representatives were reported to have stated to Dr. Marion that they were worried about the school situation and that there was danger that the public school system would be closed due to the activity of those opposed to integration, and they had contacted him inasmuch as he, Dr. Marion, had taken a positive stand toward upholding the Supreme Court's decision in this matter. The Communist representatives pointed out to Marion that there has been a large amount of sentiment for upholding the Court's decision and many organizations and individuals had spoken favorably of it. The representatives further pointed out that there were in addition many people who, although not in favor of integrated schools, would be willing to comply with the decision rather than have the school system eliminated or rely

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

on the uncertainty of private schools. It was suggested to Dr. Marion that it was felt that if this sentiment for integration could be organized there would be a much better chance for upholding the Court's decision and thereby save the public schools. Marion was reported as stating that he believed the disorganized activity by those opposed to integration was doomed to failure and that the people would finally accept integrated schools even though they did not want them in lieu of having no schools at all.

Dr. Marion further related to the Communist representatives that the SRC had been organized and was composed of "intellectuals" from both races who were attempting to do the groundwork for speeding up peaceful integration. He further advised that his group was issuing a pamphlet calling for conferences between leaders of both races for discussion on the matter, and it was planned through these pamphlets that small neighborhood discussion groups would be organized and the SRC would send district leaders to these groups to speak to them. Dr. Marion further related that he had just returned from a meeting at Nashville, Tennessee, where he had met with people of both races, and there was no noticeable difference in their intellectual attainment.

This informant further related that on July 28, 1955, [ ] had ascertained a Communist Party group meeting was held in Richmond, Virginia, on July 21, 1955. At this meeting a report was made on the results of the contact with Dr. Marion and those present were well pleased with the results of that meeting. It was suggested that representatives of the Communist Party join Dr. Marion's group and that they should attempt to obtain positions where they could give guidance and control to issues and policies in this organization if it were to play a real part in the fight to force integration.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" in its November 28, 1955, issue on page 24 carried an article concerning the Virginia Council on Human Relations which revealed that the job of that organization is that of trying to win acceptance in Virginia of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. According to the article the Council was organized last February, four months after its opposite number, the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, had its inception.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

Dr. Marion said the Council is not "out to fight" the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties or any other pro-segregation group.

The Birmingham Office of this Bureau has advised the Alabama Council of Human Relations, a new organization affiliated with the SRC has been meeting for several weeks in Birmingham. The purpose of the Alabama Council of Human Relations is to resolve segregation. [redacted] an active member of the Communist Party in Birmingham, is taking a rather active interest in this organization.

The November 7, 1955, issue of the "New York Journal American" carried an article in which information was set out that the Fund for the Republic had within the past year granted the SRC \$240,000. According to the article an investigation of this organization revealed twenty-one of its members had past pro-Communist affiliations. Thirteen of these individuals supported the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which is no longer in existence. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report dated March 29, 1944.

No investigation of the SRC has been conducted by this Bureau.

In May 1955 an organization known as the Southern Regional Conference on Integration met at Houston, Texas. This group numbered approximately one hundred individuals and appeared to be approximately one-half Negro and one-half white. A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that eleven of those in attendance were former or present members of the Communist Party. This informant also advised that this meeting was sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The secretary of this Conference was Lula Bell White, a state officer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Texas and a former member of the Communist Party in Houston. The informant stated White contacted two leading Communist Party officials in the Houston area prior to the meeting and requested the Communist Party's assistance at this Conference.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

Reports concerning the Southern Conference Educational Fund have been furnished the Department previously.

Information received concerning organizations active in working for desegregation will be furnished you just as information concerning prosegregation organizations is being furnished you.

Enclosure

YELLOW: By letter 10-28-55 Bureau instructed 16 offices to submit information concerning the racial situation in their respective territories. These letters have been received, reviewed and all the information not previously furnished the Department incorporated in this memorandum.

CFW:bas  
(4)

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : L. V. Boardman *LB 12/1/55*

DATE: November 28, 1955

FROM : A. H. Belmont *11/28/55*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *9/19/82* BY *61244 NLS*

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
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Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XAMERICAN STATES' RIGHTS ASSOCIATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

By memorandum dated 11/22/55, the Department instructed further investigation be conducted of the Belzoni Citizens Council at Belzoni, Mississippi, a chapter of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi. This request was made in connection with allegations made by members of the Belzoni Council concerning use of threats, intimidation and economic pressures in connection with their activity.

On 11/25/55 Gus Courts, president of the Belzoni Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was shot by an unknown individual. In connection with this shooting A. B. Caldwell, Chief, Civil Rights Section, Criminal Division of the Department, telephonically contacted Supervisor   on 11/26/55 of the Investigative Division and requested the Bureau to conduct limited inquiry.

These limited inquiries were made and on 11/27/55 Caldwell was furnished results thereof. At that time Caldwell stated he did not desire any further investigation at this time and requested that the details be submitted in report form so that matter could be thoroughly reviewed by the Department.

OBSERVATIONS:

Letter from Department 11/22/55 instructed further investigation of Belzoni Citizens Council. This letter was prepared prior to the shooting of Courts. On 11/27/55 Caldwell stated Department did not desire any further investigation at this time of the shooting. Any investigation made in vicinity of Belzoni, Mississippi, at this time in connection with Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi will necessarily develop information concerning this shooting. In view of Caldwell's statement of 11/27/55 that no further investigation is desired it is believed we should clarify this situation with the Department prior to issuing instructions to the Memphis Office.

RECORDED - 81

106-34239 - 22  
24 DEC 6 1955

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 106-34239-22

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached a letter to Assistant Attorney General Tompkins, CCs to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, pointing out this situation and requesting the Department to advise whether investigation of Belzoni Chapter should be undertaken at this time.

Enclosure *Reute 11-30-55*

Bufiles 105-34237  
105-27471 *with*

cc Mr. Boardman *Ab*  
cc Mr. Belmont  
cc

CFW:dlj

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SAC, Memphis

December 6, 1955

Director, FBI (105-34237)

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES'  
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 267MRLS SP

918421 Lm

Information has been received which indicates the Department is actively considering designating the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi pursuant to Executive Order 10450. As you were advised previously, copies of all reports on pro-segregation organizations are furnished the Department for consideration in connection with this Executive Order and the possibility exists that a number of these groups may be designated in the future.

Therefore, it is the responsibility of this Bureau to obtain not only data of an intelligence nature but evidence which may be used at future hearings.

The offices conducting inquiries or investigations of groups advocating the maintenance of segregation are instructed to make arrangements to secure on a regular basis all literature being published by each organization, as an aid in this matter. You are referred to SAC Letter 54-74. An original and one copy of the literature received should be furnished Bureau by routing slip marked "Attention: Central Research Section." A copy should be retained in the field office file.

Arrangements should be made to have panelists and other sources attend meetings of these groups for purpose of obtaining information concerning the aims and objectives thereof and the methods used or advocated to attain these objectives. Any literature distributed at these meetings should be retained by your office for future use. You should not exceed the limitations placed on the field in connection with conducting inquiries relative to these organizations as set out in SAC Letter 55-60 without prior Bureau approval. Two Photostats of pertinent material obtained should be furnished Bureau.

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See Note on Yellow Page Two

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Letter to SAC, Memphis

Your efforts should be directed toward obtaining information which indicates or reveals the organization has adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution.

While the Executive Order refers only to organizational policy, the acts of individual members of these organizations may reflect such policy. You are referred to Bureau letter to Atlanta dated November 1, 1955, copies of which were furnished all offices receiving this letter, as to how information concerning acts of individuals should be reported.

2cc - Atlanta  
Baltimore  
Birmingham  
Charlotte  
Dallas  
Houston  
Kansas City  
Knoxville  
Little Rock

2cc - Miami  
Mobile  
New Orleans  
Norfolk  
Pittsburgh  
Richmond  
St. Louis  
Savannah  
Oklahoma City

cc - Bufile 100-415762 (Subscription File)

Enclosure to memo from Belmont to Boardman dated 12/5/55. CFW:dae

ORIGINAL ON DUPLIMAT

CFW:dae  
(43)

## Office Memorandum

• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

• UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: December 5, 1955

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES'  
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 11/3/01 BY 60347NLS  
916421 EPT/LS

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Recently while in Chicago the Attorney General mentioned to SAC Hostetter that he would have to give consideration to citing the "Council," that is, the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

At the present time the Bureau is conducting inquiries or investigations concerning approximately sixty organizations formed for purpose of maintaining segregation in public schools. Copies of all reports submitted on these groups are furnished the Department for consideration in connection with Executive Order 10450.

In order for the Bureau to obtain documents of an evidentiary nature, it will be necessary to have the field subscribe to literature being published by these groups and to obtain through panelists and other sources literature distributed at meetings. This material will be necessary in the event an administrative hearing is later held concerning the designation of these organizations under Executive Order 10450.

RECOMMENDATION:

There is attached the yellow file copy of a letter to Memphis, carbon copies to other offices, the original of which is on duplimat. This letter instructs field offices to obtain literature of the various prosegregation organizations for use at such time as a hearing might be held. It is recommended that this file copy be approved so that the original may be duplimated.

Enclosure

Bufile 105-34237

cc - Bufile 100-415762 (Subscription file)

cc - Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont

CFW:dae

(5)

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DEC 8 1955

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: December 8, 1955

FROM : SAC, Pittsburgh (105-1048)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XRebulet 9/16/55 and Pittsburgh letter to the Bureau,  
10/21/55

Appropriate inquiry through established sources in Raleigh, McDowell, Greenbrier, Logan and Mercer Counties, W. Va., has disclosed no evidence of any organization having been formed for the purpose of maintaining segregation.

This office will remain alert for any information relating to this matter.

RIR:lra  
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/11/81 BY 60277ML/KSP/LHY  
915421

REGISTERED

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SL:XB

105-34237-142  
20 DEC 9 1955

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW ORLEANS

REPORT MADE AT <b>LITTLE ROCK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>12/7/55</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>10/12, 19, 20, 31; 11/10, 17/55</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>gm</b>
TITLE <b>ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI; ROBERT B. PATTERSON</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE - <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - X</b>
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <p>On 10/12/55 JAMES D. JOHNSON, Crossett, Ark., was interviewed and requested to furnish copy of the recording allegedly furnished by PATTERSON to JOHNSON. JOHNSON then stated recording was property of PATTERSON and it could not be furnished without consent of PATTERSON. JOHNSON also stated he was not sure whether recording would be made available even after he contacts PATTERSON and that there was a possibility a subpoena would be necessary before recording could be obtained. JOHNSON again located at Crossett 11/10/55 and stated he would not voluntarily make recording available to agents.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- RUC - (S)</p> <p>DETAILS: AT CROSSETT, ARKANSAS</p> <p>The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted] and the reporting Agent:</p> <p><i>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/13/01 BY 60247WLS/KJH 915421</i></p> <p><i>Mr. Brown New Orleans let 12/14/55. Rep'd sent 12/28/55. Reason for delay - Rep'd in dictation 1/30/56</i></p> <p><i>6-17 to Little Rock re OO Memphis 12/14/55. cu/H</i></p> <p><i>0-1 to New Orleans 12/24/55. Suspended cu/H</i></p> <p><i>EX-125</i></p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES DESTROYED 470 APR 27 1972		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>105-34237-111</b>	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 6 - Bureau (105-34237) 2 - New Orleans (105-492) 1 - Memphis (105-121) (Info.) 1 - Little Rock (105-133) 21)		RECORDED - 30 23 DEC 9 1955 INDEXED - 30	

PROPERTY OF FBI—THIS REPORT IS LOANED TO YOU BY THE FBI, AND NEITHER IT NOR ITS CONTENTS ARE TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE THE AGENCY TO WHICH LOANED.

LR 105-133

On October 12, 1955, JAMES D. JOHNSON, attorney, was interviewed at his office. JOHNSON was requested to furnish a copy of the recording allegedly furnished by PATTERSON to JOHNSON and which was allegedly played at pro-segregation meetings at De Witt, Arkansas, on September 12, 1955, and at Walnut Ridge, Arkansas, on September 17, 1955. JOHNSON was advised that the recording would be returned in its original condition and that he was being contacted at the request of Assistant Attorney General WARREN OLNEY III. ARK.

JOHNSON stated the recording was the property of ROBERT B. PATTERSON of Mississippi and that it could not be furnished without the consent of PATTERSON. In reply to a question as to the source of the recording, JOHNSON replied that he obtained it from PATTERSON. JOHNSON was asked whether he had more than one copy of the recording and stated he did have more than one copy. He was advised that PATTERSON had been interviewed by agents of the Bureau, at which time he denied furnishing the recording to JOHNSON. JOHNSON merely stated again that the recording was PATTERSON's and that he would have to contact PATTERSON before it could be made available.

He also stated he was not sure whether the recording would be made available even after he contacts PATTERSON and that there was a possibility a subpoena would be necessary before the recording could be obtained.

JOHNSON suggested that he be recontacted in about one week at which time the recording may be made available.

The following investigation was conducted by SA  and the reporting Agent:

On November 10, 1955, JAMES D. JOHNSON was located at Crossett, Arkansas, and interviewed. He stated at that time that he would not voluntarily make the recording available to agents.

- RUC -

LR 105-133

ADMINISTRATIVE

An information copy of this report is furnished to the Memphis Division in view of the investigation being conducted there in this case.

Unsuccessful attempts were made to locate JAMES D. JOHNSON, Crossett, Arkansas, by SA's [ ] and [ ] on October 19, 1955, and by SA's [ ] and [ ] on October 31, 1955.

REFERENCE

Bureau Air-Tel to Little Rock dated 10/10/55.  
Little Rock Air-Tel to Bureau dated 10/13/55.  
Bureau Air-Tel to Little Rock dated 11/8/55.  
Little Rock Air-Tel to Bureau dated 11/10/55.

- ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE -

Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

December 8, 1955

RECORDED-91 Director, FBI

EX-107  
ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS  
COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI FILE 105-34237

Reference is made to your memorandum dated December 2, 1955, captioned "Citizens Council of Humphreys County, Mississippi," in which you requested that further investigation be conducted concerning that organization.

Reference is also made to my memorandum dated November 29, 1955, captioned "Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Internal Security - X; American States' Rights Association, Internal Security - X," in which the Department was requested to advise whether further investigation of the citizens council in Belzoni, Mississippi, should be conducted at this time in view of the recent shooting of Gus Courts. No reply has been received from the Department in response to this memorandum.

Belzoni is the county seat of Humphreys County, and, therefore, the Department is requested to advise whether an investigation of the citizens council in Belzoni and in Humphreys County should be conducted at this time.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/97 BY 20267 HLS EPL/LS

914421

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CFW:bas (11)

RECEIVED - FBI

DEC 8 - 1955

MAILED 32



# FACTS

OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1955

Vol. 10, No. 6

Segregation and Southern Politics..... Page 59

Published by  
THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

## SEGREGATION AND SOUTHERN POLITICS

THE pro-segregation movement in the South has made great strides in recent months. It has developed into a strong grass roots force led by power-seeking politicians and respectable so-called upper class elements in the Southern communities. As such, it has become an increasingly potent phalanx capable of exerting enormous pressure and assuming position of political dominance in the South.

Many of the political and industrial leaders who are now directing this force were active in the Dixiecrat movement back in 1948. The great ferment which they helped to stir up over the issue of school segregation has given new life to their hopes for a revival of the Dixiecrat movement.

These Dixiecrat leaders were instrumental in the recent formation of a coalition of the South's major pro-segregation groups—a significant event bound to have some bearing on future state and national political developments.

This new confederation, which was announced in New Orleans October 23, joins together the numerous Citizens Councils and the various states-rights groups of Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and Virginia. It is called the Federation for Constitutional Government. Its headquarters have been set up in New Orleans.

The advisory committee includes U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Dixiecrat candidate for President in the 1948 campaign; U. S. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi; Congressmen William M. Tuck and Watkins M. Abbitt of Virginia; Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia; and Georgia's former incumbent, Herman Talmadge, who is said to be seeking Walter George's seat in the Senate.

The tieup between the South's pro-segregation forces was foreordained once the professional politician became involved in the issue of segregation and plumbed its political possibilities on a broad sectional front.

The professional politician entered the picture at an early stage, soon after the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional. Such was the depth of the opposition to the Court's edict that no politician had a chance of gaining office unless he took a stand against desegregation. Virtually everybody in the South was against the Court's decree. Even those so-called moderate and liberal elements which favored a gradualist approach to the segregation problem deplored the high tribunal's decision.

Constitutional politicians became highly vocal over the integrated schools. Many of them had a conviction that desegregation was wrong, but they realized, too, that it was good politics to express that conviction in the most strident terms, and their outcry added fuel to an already inflamed situation.

At the same time, they quickly recognized that this situation could be forged into a strong political tool, that a successful channelling of the unrest stirred up over desegregation could lead to the capture of state political control and a strong voice in the national councils of the Democratic Party. These professional leaders had already envisioned the national party convention coming up in 1956 to select the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President and draft a party platform. The time for making their voice more effectively heard was rapidly approaching.

A marked trend toward unity on a statewide level thus set in among the various Citizens Councils and states-rights groups. The situation in Georgia was indicative to some extent of what developed in other states.

Members of all political factions joined last September in setting up a States Rights Council of Georgia. State officials, legislators, judges, political leaders—about 200 in all—took part in the inaugural meeting held in Atlanta.

The meeting, called by Governor Griffin, was organized by Roy V. Harris, a veteran political figure who was campaign manager for Fred Hand in the 1954 race for Governor. Former Governor Talmadge had a prominent role in the organizational movement.

The meeting was convened for the ostensible purpose of inaugurating a new group to fight desegregation. But its underlying purpose—the attainment of political control—was significantly pointed up by one prominent Georgia politician whose professed lack of interest in the organizing session seemed singularly uncommon. The politician—former State Commissioner of Agriculture, Tom Linder—said to an Atlanta Journal reporter (September 16, 1955):

"I told them I would be interested only if everyone present would take an oath to not to be a candidate for any office during the next four years."

Mr. Linder said he had received no such assurances.

## The Federation's Beginnings

Plans for creating the Federation for Constitutional Government finally crystallized last summer. They were set in motion by Senator Eastland, who issued a public plea for a nationwide, grass roots mobilization to fight the Court's decree against segregation in the schools.

"It is essential," Eastland declared, "that a nationwide organization be set up. It will be a people's organization, an organization not controlled by fawning politicians who cater to organized racial pressure groups. A people's organization to fight the C.I.O., to fight the N.A.A.C.P., and to fight all the conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction. We will mobilize and organize public opinion. We will attempt to pledge candidates in advance. . . ."

"We are about to embark upon a great crusade, a crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people. In addition, our organization will carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise and we will fight those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry and the great medical profession of this country . . ."

NOT RECORDED

8 DEC 8 1955

FACTS — 59

Association of Citizens  
Councils of Mississippi

Indicated to AAC by O-6  
12-2-55  
C.F.W.-ff

1 photo sent  
to New Orleans  
12-2-55

file  
12-3-55

An Executive Committee headed by U. Barr, a New Orleans industrialist, laid the groundwork for the establishment of the new confederation, with its declared purpose to "promote constitutional government, preservation of the sovereign rights of the several states and individual liberties, secure the nomination of candidates for office who subscribe to these principles, resist the nomination of leftist candidates for President and Vice President and other offices, oppose the adoption of a socialistic platform, and to prohibit and counteract executive agreements and decisions of the Supreme Court and Federal Courts which have wrongfully abrogated, modified or amended the provisions of the United States Constitution."

The committee's vice-chairman is Robert B. Patterson,\* president of the Mississippi Citizens Councils. Other committee members are Walter C. Givham,\* State Senator of Alabama and Citizens Council leader; Hugh G. Grant, former Ambassador to Thailand and States Rights Council leader in Georgia; Robert B. Crawford, pro-segregationist leader in Virginia; and Robert A. Stuart, former State Senator of Texas. Tom P. Brady, author of Black Monday, a book whose ideas kindled some of the founders of the Citizens Councils, is a member of the Legal Committee.

Executive Committee chairman Barr said the Federation would eventually be nationwide, but that present plans call for building its strength in the South. He said the first full meeting would be convened some time around December.

### Some Typical Spokesmen for Segregation

A brief glimpse into Barr's background reflects the extreme reactionary character of some of the vocal advocates of segregation. In 1944 he organized a campaign "to destroy the political dictatorship of Hillman, Browder and Dubinsky and to save Constitutional Democracy." His statement to a Congress of Freedom\*\* meeting in 1953 charged that both major political parties have been infiltrated by thinly disguised socialists, and that as a result "the American people have lost a major portion of their political choice and liberty." "Both parties," said Barr, "are on the way toward control by the worst enemy of free people everywhere."

Equally revealing is an incident involving another member of the Federation's Executive Committee, Robert A. Stuart. He told a Citizens Council meeting in Tarrant County, Texas, in September, that he had just returned from New York, where "I had to hold my nose while I toured the United Nations building."

"You talk about the Ku Klux Klan," said Stuart. "It's not the Invisible Empire as you've probably heard. The Invisible Empire are the people handpicked by Nelson Rockefeller to control our government. They make the President, they make the Secretary of State and they make the people who run this government of ours, and Eisenhower knows he cannot defy what they tell him to do."

Stuart here expresses an extreme rightist outlook that seems to characterize many pro-segregation elements. One illustration

of this character was the October 7 meeting of a pro-segregation organization in Virginia, the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. The guest speaker, Dr. Charles Tansill of Georgetown University, spoke on the "race problem." Here is an eyewitness account of the session (Washington Post and Times Herald—October 18, 1955):

"Dr. Tansill's talk was not so much an integrated discussion of its announced theme as it was a stringing together of capsule arguments on all the topics dear to a segregationist's heart. 'Now take F.E.P.C. . . .', said Dr. Tansill, and the audience took F.E.P.C. They tittered at the name of 'Eleanor' and laughed aloud at a joke about Harry Truman's brains.

"Dr. Tansill skimmed through what Senator Eastland had to say about Communist influences on Gunnar Myrdal's study of the American Negro. Dr. Tansill went somewhat farther than Senator Eastland in estimating the number of 'Negro Communists' involved in aiding the 'Socialist-Communist' Myrdal.

"Then there was a capsule denunciation of United Nations Day, which either had been or was to be celebrated in a Virginia school. Dr. Tansill felt that this would cause jubilation in Moscow.

"Somewhere along the line, the name 'Spingarn' came up. 'Spingarn . . .' intoned Dr. Tansill meaningfully. 'He's not a Negro . . . you know what his race is . . . they have lots of money.'

"He noted that New York's late Mayor La Guardia had lived near Harlem, and said it was a wonder he hadn't been stabbed. He added that it might not have been a bad idea if he had been stabbed.

"Needless to say, the very first part of Dr. Tansill's talk had been a quick review of world history, demonstrating that no Negro had ever made any contribution whatever to any civilization anywhere—unless he had white blood.

"The conclusion of the address was a rhetorical question about whether or not white children should be forced to go to school with 'syphilitic morons.'

(Georgetown University has disassociated itself from Professor Tansill's public pronouncements on segregation. The Very Reverend Edmund B. Bunn, president of the university, said that Tansill's statements are "absolutely contrary to the policy and teaching of Georgetown University" and "must be viewed as those of a private individual speaking outside the field of his own competency." According to Religious News Service, October 21, 1955, Tansill came to Georgetown following his resignation from American University, a Methodist institution in Washington, which "he left in 1936 after his public views in support of Hitler caused a campus controversy.")

Similar in tone was a recent address by Lt. Gen. Pedro Del Valle, an anti-semitic and associate of Merwin K. Hart, delivered before another pro-segregation group, the Howard County chapter of the Maryland Petition Committee. He was introduced as a "leader of conservative and right-wing groups."

"Miscegenation is the aim of our enemies," declared Del Valle. He said that an "invisible world organization," which

\* See Facts, June, '55; Sept., '54.

\*\* See Facts, April-May, '55.

**FACTS**

is a monthly report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, chairman; Meler Steinbrink, honorary chairman; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, A. K. Cohen, Herbert E. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, Benjamin Samuels, Melvin H. Schlesinger and Jesse Steinhart, honorary vice-chairmen; David Coleman, Henry Epstein and David A. Rose, vice-chairmen; Bernard Nath, chairman, and Paul Sampliner, vice-chairman, of Executive Committee; Jacob Alson, treasurer; Benjamin R. Epstein, secretary and national director. David A. Rose, chairman of Civil Rights Committee.

Edited by Arnold Forster, Civil Rights Director. Harold Berman, associate editor.

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32

he described as "a small, international garchy," was seeking to destroy homogeneous and racial groups. Its primary concern, he said, was the destruction of the Christian and Moslem religions, and he cited the formation of a Jewish state in Israel as part of the attack on the Arab world. Del Valle closed his speech with an attack on the United Nations.

The note sounded by Del Valle reflects a general line handed out by demagogues of one kind or another to numerous pro-segregation groups. These harangues, covering the whole extreme rightist ideological spectrum, might be described as educating for segregation. This narrow indoctrination has proven helpful in preparing the pro-segregation movement as a vast potential market for such professional anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro pamphleteers as Gerald L. K. Smith, Conde McGinley, Frank Britton, John Hamilton and Gerald Winrod. The Citizens Councils in Mississippi have on more than one occasion helped to distribute their material. At one time Council leaders explained their action by declaring that all the religious groups "have been pushing the anti-segregation issue and it is time for all of us to speak out for separation of the black and white races, regardless of our race or creed."

The religious groups in the South have not agitated for desegregation but have expressed their opposition to the repressive tactics of the Citizens Councils and their policy of economic coercion.

Protestant clergymen have spoken out more openly in recent months as cases multiplied in which the Councils used economic pressure and boycott to silence their opponents.

The South Carolina Methodist conference, meeting recently in Florence, S. C., adopted a resolution condemning the Citizens Councils for their exertion of "economic pressure upon a portion of our citizenry to prevent the exercise and development of their moral conscience and their civil rights according to the dictates of their consciences."

According to the Protestant weekly, *The Christian Century* (Oct. 26, '55), the use by the Citizens Councils of the weapon of economic retaliation "is forcing men of sensitive conscience, and chief among these the preachers, into the opposing party. For economic retaliation, clearly undemocratic and un-American—it undermines freedom of opinion and of petition—is as clearly un-Christian. For it is a deliberate attempt to take away from a man his livelihood and thus, indirectly, his life, and is about as far from the neighborliness of Christianity as one could get."

"The preachers of the South," the Protestant magazine adds, "have moved slowly to oppose segregation, but they have moved. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.), composed of ministers and laymen, was far stronger in its opposition to segregation this year than it was a year ago. During all the past year the elders had been back in their own communities, feeling the support of segregation harden and crystallize about them; yet their own opposition had deepened. This means that the battlelines are being more closely drawn, and the Citizens Councils, picking up now the weapon of economic retaliation, will force into the open many a preacher who might otherwise have kept quiet."

Last summer one prominent Southern white clergyman, Rev. Thomas A. Fraser of Winston-Salem, N. C., strongly condemned the pro-segregation group, the Patriots of North Carolina, whose membership was drawn from men prominent

in the political and economic life of the state. He described as a "horrifying incident in the history of the state" the organization's purpose "to maintain the purity and culture of the white race and of Anglo-Saxon culture."

"The implications," he said in a sermon August 29, "are far more horrifying than the organization of the Ku Klux Klan or any similar organization because it has among its charter members some of the best educated and cultured leaders of the state." He said:

"I lived for a time in Nazi Germany and saw the ghastly consequences of a doctrine of racial purity, whose seeds were born in the mind of a maniac character. . . .

"As one who has witnessed the cruel persecutions of innocent people because of their racial background, I cannot help but view with horror the incorporation of an organization in our own state which professes as its first principle the same kind of doctrine of racial purity and Anglo-Saxon superiority.

"Organizations of this nature can easily get out of hand and move in directions which the founders never anticipated. Little did the people of Germany in the early days of the Nazi party realize that a doctrine to maintain racial purity would involve them in the guilt that came in the latter days when concentration camps were breeding centers for hatred and cynicism and the superior race entertained itself by shrinking human heads.

"No citizen or Christian of this great democratic nation can permit the seeds of a doctrine of racial purity to be planted, lest they take root and blossom into the same sin of which we condemned Nazi Germany.

"This doctrine is not the answer to the question of segregation in the public schools. Our problem is a legal one which demands time, wisdom, patience, Christian charity and understanding. If we are loyal and obedient to the laws of our land and keep faith with our fellow men and with God, we will arrive at a workable, democratic and Christian solution. . . ."

Church and civic groups in St. Petersburg, Fla., have also called for moderation on the part of the pro-segregation elements. The St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations, the St. Petersburg Jewish Community Council, the United Churches of Greater St. Petersburg, B'nai B'rith and the Ministerial Association of St. Petersburg joined in a public statement (*St. Petersburg Times*, Oct. 18, '55) which called for "cool heads and calm feelings" and lawful behavior in respect to the problem of school segregation.

"As law-abiding citizens," said the statement, "we believe in and recognize the supremacy of the Supreme Court of the United States and its authority to construe the constitutionality of all laws. Unless we substitute chaos for law and violence for order, we must affirm and implement the decree of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in our schools, whether or not it runs counter to our opinions. Any other view is destructive of good government, and an invitation to insurrection or lawlessness."

### What Lies Ahead

A period of severe tension lies ahead in the deep South. Not in decades has the section witnessed such a charged atmosphere. A symptom was the recent brutal slaying in Mississippi of a Negro boy from Chicago, Emmett Louis Till, which shocked the nation and deeply stirred the Negro communities across the country.



Other outrages have not hit front headlines. But incidents of intimidation and repression on the part of the Citizens Councils have grown more and more numerous. Many Negroes have been frozen out of their means of livelihood and forced to leave their communities for failing to follow Council dictates.

The Councils have brought heavy economic pressure against those Negroes who signed or associated themselves with petitions to put school integration into effect. Signers lost their jobs or their vital source of credit if in business. Many Negroes were driven into making public disavowals, in the form of printed newspaper advertisements, of any connection with the N.A.A.C.P.

Wherever such N.A.A.C.P. petitions were filed the Citizens Councils were quick to react in organizing new units and setting in motion the machinery of economic retaliation. In one brief period recently more than 35 Council units in South Carolina alone sprang up in the wake of these petitions, which began to fall off under the pressure. According to the first annual report of the Citizens Councils of Mississippi there are now 253 Council units in that state, supported by a membership of 60,000. This growth was accomplished in less than a year's time.

A common feature of most of the pro-segregation groups is their self-serving declaration that they seek to avoid violence and using the methods of the Ku Klux Klan. They appear to be particularly defensive and sensitive about any kind of identification with that discredited organization. But in the South's current situation there is no place or any need for the KKK. The pro-segregationists have developed their own methods for overpowering the resistance of their opponents. This has been achieved out in the open without benefit of masks, night riders and bullwhips and with the helping hand of the respected leaders of the communities.

(A Klan unit was given legal status in Atlanta October 25. Judge Claude D. Shaw of Fulton County Superior Court granted it a charter on a petition filed by attorney Samuel Green, Jr., son of the late Dr. Samuel Green, who for many years was the Imperial Wizard of the old outlawed Klan. The new outfit was chartered under the name of "U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc." It described itself as "an organization for social and charitable purposes.")

It is difficult to foretell where the present course of the pro-segregationists will lead to. The future of civil rights in the deep South is cloaked in uncertainty, particularly as the battlelines for political power are being more closely drawn. The Citizens Councils have used with telling effect their weapons of blacklisting and economic boycott. And this does not exhaust their arsenal of duress. Smearing non-conformers as Communists, or as members of an invisible world organization determined to destroy Anglo-Saxon civilization are other handy tools for use.

Set in sharp contrast to this situation in the deep South is the general picture in the border states of New Mexico, Arizona, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri and parts of Tennessee, Texas and Arkansas. In these states there has been a gradual, orderly process of compliance with the Supreme Court mandate against segregation.

It is not very likely that in the foreseeable future the deep South will be inspired to follow the example of its bordering states. The recent amalgamation of the pro-segregation forces has set the deep South on a completely different course.

But recently history tragically but forcefully demonstrated that an alliance formed on a basis of racism cannot long endure. It is an anachronism which cannot survive the pace of modern trends. Failure to recognize this can only lead to fateful consequences for diehard pro-segregation leaders and the culture and civilization for which they profess such strong admiration and love.

## APPENDIX

The following is an alphabetical listing of the 37 known groups which have been organized in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling May 17, 1954, against segregation in the public schools:

1. American Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity, The—New Orleans, La.
2. American States Rights Ass'n., Inc.—Birmingham, Ala.
3. Better Dorchester Schools, Inc.—Dorchester, Md.
4. Caucasian League—Miami, Fla.
5. Christian American Segregation Association—Selbyville, Del.
6. Citizens Segregation Committee—Birmingham, Ala.
7. Dade County Property Owners Association—Miami, Fla.
8. Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties—Norfolk, Va.
9. Dover Citizens Committee for White Schools—Dover, Del.
10. Federation for Constitutional Government—New Orleans, La.
11. Florida States Rights, Inc.—Miami, Fla.
12. Grass Roots League—Charleston, S. C.
13. Hoxie Citizens Committee for Segregation—Hoxie, Ark.
14. Independent School System of Missouri, Inc.—St. Louis, Mo.
15. Knights of the White Christians—New Orleans, La.
16. Maryland Petition Committee, Inc.—Jessups, Md.
17. Moonlighters, The—Grange, Tex.
18. National Association for the Advancement and Protection of White People, Inc.—Griffin, Ga.
19. National Association for the Advancement of White People (Bryant Bowles' group)—Washington, D. C.
20. National Association for the Preservation of the Races—Memphis, Tenn.
21. National Association for the Preservation of the White Race—Augusta, Ga.
22. National Protective Individual Rights, Inc.—Alexandria, Va.; Washington, D. C.
23. North Carolina Association for the Preservation of the White Race, Inc.—Durham, N. C.
24. Patriots of North Carolina, Inc.—Greensboro, N. C.
25. Pro Southerners—Memphis, Tenn.
26. Pro Southerners League—Fort Pierce, Fla.
27. Southerners, The—Mobile, Ala.; Pritchard, Ala.
28. Southern Gentlemen's Organization—Baton Rouge, La.
29. States Rights Council of Georgia—Atlanta, Ga.
30. States Rights League of Darlington County—Darlington Co., S. C.
31. States Rights League of Florence County, S. C.
32. States Rights League of Sumter County, S. C.
33. Three-Quarter Century Club—New Orleans, La.
34. Virginia League—Newport News, Va.
35. Voters Protective League of Ala., location unknown.
36. We The People—Branch in Memphis, Tenn.
37. White America, Inc.—Pine Bluff, Ark.

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b6  
b7C  
b7D 4-42a

# F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

DECODED COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/13/01 BY 60247NLS

918421

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FROM NEW ORLEANS

11-28-55

NR 281709

12:29 PM

DIRECTOR

URGENT

ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS OF MISSISSIPPI; INTERNAL SECURITY-X.  
REURAIRTEL 21 INSTANT. [REDACTED] ADVISED HE HAD BEEN TCHULA,  
MISSISSIPPI WEEK OF NOVEMBER 20, AND NO INFORMATION CAME TO  
ATTENTION INDICATING MASS EXODUS OF NEGROES FROM MISSISSIPPI OR  
TOWN OF TCHULA. CLAIMS OVER YEARS NEGROES LEAVING PLANTATION  
AREAS AND GOING NORTHERN CITIES SUCH AS CHICAGO AND DETROIT,  
BUT MOVEMENT BROUGHT ABOUT BECAUSE OF MECHANICAL FARMING EQUIP-  
MENT. [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIALLY ADVISED NO UNUSUAL MOVEMENT OF NEGROES OVER  
[REDACTED] RAILROAD. CLAIMS TRAVEL LIGHT, BUT HEAVY TRAVEL  
OF NEGROES BETWEEN THE NORTHERN CITIES DURING SUMMER MONTHS FOR  
PAST SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS. CLAIMS PRACTICALLY AS MANY RETURNED  
TO STATE AS DEPARTED. NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AVAILABLE  
NEW ORLEANS REGARDING ANY MASS EXODUS OF NEGROES FROM STATE OF  
MISSISSIPPI.

RECEIVED:

11-28-55

12:45 PM

BLH

Let to [unclear]  
cc: [unclear]  
12-5-55  
CSW

RECEIVED  
FBI

RECORDED - 23

105-34237-

Mr. Belmont

2 DEC 8 1955

INT

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

December 5, 1955

RECORDED - 23  
INDEXED - 23  
Director, FBI

105-34237-114  
MASS EXODUS OF NEGROES FROM  
THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, AS  
A RESULT OF THE TILL CASE AND  
WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL ACTIVITIES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X  
FBI File 105-34237

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/30/89 BY 60347

915421 NLS EP  
L57

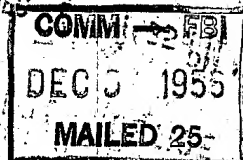
Reference is made to your memorandum dated November 15, 1955, your reference WO:ABC:ARG, 144-40-116 and 144-2-130, in which you requested that this Bureau determine whether or not there has been a mass migration of colored people from the State of Mississippi. Reference is also made to my reply thereto dated November 18, 1955.

A confidential informant of the New Orleans Office of this Bureau, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised the informant had been in Tchula, Mississippi, during the week of November 20, 1955, and no information came to the informant's attention indicating a mass exodus of Negroes from Mississippi or from the town of Tchula. This informant claimed that over the years Negroes have been leaving plantation areas and have been going to Northern cities such as Chicago and Detroit but that this movement has been brought about because of mechanical farm equipment.

advised there has been no unusual movement of Negroes over that railroad. He stated there has been heavy travel of Negroes to the Northern cities during summer months for the past seven or eight years but claimed practically as many returned to the South as departed.

No additional information was obtained by the New Orleans Office regarding any mass exodus of Negroes from Mississippi.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



Letter to Assistant Attorney General  
Warren Olney III

In connection with this matter there is being furnished you herewith a copy of the report of Special Agent George A. Everett dated November 28, 1955, at Memphis, Tennessee, captioned "Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Internal Security - X."

In the event you desire that additional inquiries be made concerning this matter it is requested that this Bureau be advised.

Enclosure

2cc - Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

(W/Enclosure)

CFW:gft  
(6)



Office Memorandum

UNIT

GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-34237) (REGISTERED) DATE: December 9, 1955

FROM : SAC, OKLAHOMA CITY (105-206)

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COUNCILS AND  
STATES' RIGHTS MOVEMENTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - XALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 4/13/81 BY 60307 NLS  
918421 BR/LM

ReBullets dated 10-28-55 and 11-16-55.

According to reliable sources, informants, and through the medium of Oklahoma City daily newspapers, there is no indication of racial tension nor is there an indication that any incidents have occurred in this state concerning the problem of segregation.

A newly formed local organization called CITIZENS COUNCIL AGAINST DESEGREGATION has held a public meeting in Oklahoma City, on October 22, 1955, and Detective [redacted] NA, Oklahoma City Police Department, attended this meeting as an observer from the Oklahoma City Police Department. The meeting was held in the Mirror Room of the Municipal Auditorium, at 8:00 P.M. According to Detective [redacted] about 35 persons attended this meeting and a speaker was introduced as Mr. HOWARD BEARD, Fort Worth, Texas, identified as President of Tarrant County, Texas Citizens Council.

Mr. BEARD stated various Citizens Councils were conceived about one year ago at Indianola, Mississippi, whose purpose was to prevent integration of colored people into white schools. He said the purpose of those who promoted integration felt that they could thereby corrupt the people of this country to the extent that they would have no regard for the nation and could be easily defeated. Mr. BEARD advised the foregoing movement had been in progress for 20 years and the purpose of his group was to oppose this movement, defend the constitution, and to oppose any subversive group in America.

According to Detective CLARK, there were no colored people at the meeting and no disturbance occurred. He said the audience was composed of persons who appeared to be from the lower middle class economic group.

According to news items and press releases, state and local legislative bodies in the state of Oklahoma are

INDEXED

105-34237-116

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abiding by the Supreme Court's ruling concerning segregation, therefore, to date no known group or organization has been formed to dissolve segregation, further no information has been received concerning Negro organizations which have been formed to directly oppose Citizens Councils, who advocate maintaining segregation.

2 - Bureau (105-34237)  
1 - Oklahoma City (105-206)

CEB:TK

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (105-34237)

DATE: 12-12-55

FROM : SAC, Memphis (105-121)

SUBJECT: ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS COUNCILS  
OF MISSISSIPPI; ROBERT B. PATTERSON  
INTERNAL SECURITY - X

On 11-25-55, ROBERT B. PATTERSON, Executive Secretary, Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Winona, Mississippi, advised SA GEORGE A. EVERETT that two types of mail are sent to SA EVERETT by the Association. He said one type, which is material distributed to the regular mailing list of the Association, is sent in metered envelopes, without a postmark date. He said the other type is submitted in typewriter-addressed stamped envelopes.

PATTERSON stated that the second type of mailing is for the FBI only, and relates to material received by the Association which might be of interest to the FBI in the field of subversive activities.

Enclosed herewith are the following letters, mimeographed sheets, etc., received from PATTERSON by the second type mailing. Photostatic copies of this material are being retained in the Memphis file:

(1) Form letter from Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., dated November 1955, enclosing contribution card and self-addressed envelope. (Mailed to SA EVERETT 11-15-55.)

(2) Four and a portion page letter dated 11-14-55 to PATTERSON with writer's name torn off, telling of NAACP meetings in Miami Florida area relative to the EMMETT TILL matter, enclosing a mimeographed program announcement of the Miami Community Forum for November 1, 2 and 9, 1955. (Mailed to SA EVERETT 11-16-55.)

(3) A blue mimeographed sheet headed "IT IS ONLY NOW BEGINNING," purporting to be "A Pulpit Review of John Wexley's 'The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,'" delivered Sunday, September 25, 1955 at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles by Reverend

2 - Bureau (105-34237) (Encls. 12) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - New Orleans (105-492) (Info) (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - Memphis (105-121)

GAE:BN  
(4)

RECORDED - 3

EX - 124

INDEXED - 3

INT

ME Letter to Director, 12-12-55

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, attached to the following:

A song, "River of My People," words by PETER SEEGER; mimeographed handbill advertising November 18th forum of the Socialist Workers Party, bearing handwritten notation "California"; order form for the "Peace Calendar 1956" to the War Registers League, New York City.

The source of these pamphlets was not made known by PATTERSON. (Mailed to SA EVERETT 11-18-55.)

The envelopes in which the above were forwarded SA EVERETT are also enclosed.

Material sent to SA EVERETT in the metered mail, regular mailing list envelopes is periodically reported to the Bureau.

105-34237-117

November 14, 1955

Mr. Robert B. Patterson, Executive Secretary  
Association of Citizens' Councils of Miss.  
Winona, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Patterson:

The purpose of this letter is to bring to your attention two meetings which were held this past week in the Greater Miami Area and both sponsored by the NAACP. It is not my intention to familiarize you with the problem that this organization presents to the American public at large, but I do want to bring out to you a few of those things which I know this organization would not dare say or print in your state as well as those that border Mississippi and the northern parts of Florida as well as the Carolinas, for the repercussion dealt them would be just what they justly deserve.

The first meeting was held at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church and the main speaker at this "Emmett Till Protest Rally" was no other than the paid agitator Ruby Hurley of Birmingham, Alabama, who is the Southeast Regional Director of the NAACP. While the writer is a firm believer in the institution of segregation, I deemed it worthwhile to sit among the Negroes at this church to get a birds eye view of their past and future program. The things I heard and witnessed at this meeting would just about shock any decent person who believes in law and order.

It is most important that I point out to you specifically that I am never emotionally carried away by any topic into a state of fury and hatred. Therefore, I trust that your reading this material will in no way put doubt in your mind that this is being written just for hateful purpose rather than its real intent which is an educational one on the subject involved.

Having some experience in the reporting field of courts, I took my pencil and notebook along to record verbatim what the speakers had to offer.

Their opening preface read by Dr. G. W. Hawkins (Negro) member of the NAACP follows: "The killing of Emmett Till, 14 year old youth, while vacationing in the State of Mississippi will forever be remembered in the annals of this nation as the most dastardly crime ever committed against the move for freedom by the millions of Negroes in the United States. The killing of men in this state and others, merely because they desire the right to participate in government which makes no distinction because of color when levying taxes, is to be considered as a serious obstacle in our government's efforts to stem the propaganda of our Communist enemies which is aimed at the destruction of our Constitution and the democracy which we believe in. We urge you to join the "Fight for Freedom" and to help preserve this democracy by aiding in the move to destroy forever, those enemies of freedom who would continue segregation at any cost. You can best do this by joining and supporting your NAACP."

Mr. Robert B. Patterson  
November 14, 1955  
Page - 2 -

Following the preface, Ruby Hurley was introduced. The introduction I needn't tell you that it was more along the lines of worship than anything else. They (the speaker introducing her - Atty F. A. Rodriguez, Special Counsel of the NAACP from the Tampa Branch) almost had the poor colored folks believe that she was sent directly from Heaven and was a personal representative of God on earth. From this you can draw your own conclusions on the drawn-out introduction she received.

It is most important that I bring to your attention at this time that the Negro attendance was by far the true representation of the colored population of the City of Miami. Matter of fact, I received the impression that the NAACP was very much disturbed at the small turn out at this so-called protest rally. Instead of a protest as you will see in the following paragraphs, it turned out to be more of a race-hating and baiting rally than anything else.

Not to make the letter too long, I will only quote at random what she (Ruby) said. She first started off with the statement that Emmett's mother had warn the 14 year old youth before his departure from Chicago, to be very careful when entering the State of Mississippi. She instructed him that he must always remember that he is a Negro while in Mississippi. That he must never forget to say "No suh to a white man and yes mam to a white women and that if he had ever forgotten, he was to get down on his knees and beg for forgiveness".

The death of Emmett Till came as no surprise to Ruby since Mississippians as a rule were killing a Negro on the average of one every two weeks since the Supreme Courts ruling.

After the news of the killing had reached her ears at which time she was supposedly to be somewhere's in Alabama, Ruby counselled with members of the NAACP and set out for Money, Mississippi.

She relates the story of how many times she had been through Mississippi and that she was as familiar with its terrain as the palm of her hands. She said "Many times while driving through Mississippi as I pass the creeks, rivers, ponds and puddles of water, I wonder how many of my people lie deep in those places". At this the audience gave a loud sigh of shame to the Citizens of Miss. She contended that if these places were ever dragged by the Federal Government "they would come up with an astounding number of Negro Citizens".

Ruby Hurly by all appearances is well dressed and well educated, but she declared that it was necessary for her and the members who ~~escorted her~~ escorted her, that they dress as share croppers in order not to be molested by the law enforcement agency of that state. "At night we would have to use flashlights as signals in order to give each other the o.k., while traveling from Negro house to house on white plantations in order to secure the full details from Negroes who lived in the community".

During their rendezvous of the various places, they spotted a small Mack truck pulling out from one of the houses that they were to visit. "Somewheres in our plan we felt that a leak had occurred". This was finally found to be true when they approached the "small wooden cabin where the family was huddled in one corner all griped in fear".

They were attempting to get witnesses, but very few if any dared take the risk of signing their "own death warrant in appearing before a "WHITE MAN'S COURT"".



Mr. Robert B. Patterson  
November 14, 1955  
Page - 3 -

The episodes that followed were one of a state of war and siege between the NAACP and the State of Mississippi. It was the most ridiculous thing anyone could have heard, but the people present were certainly eating it in good taste.

"The day of the trial finally came and on every street corner, people were commenting on the innocence of Roy Bryant and his brother". "The attorneys were having the most difficult time in procuring people for the 'White Jury'". Everyone in Money "had contributed financially for the defense of Milam and his half-brother. Milk empty bottles had been put out in every store, church and corner and practically everyone called for jury duty had donated for their defense".

"We were certain even before the trial proceeded that they would be found not guilty". You just "couldn't help yourself get this impression from the vicinity surrounding the courthouse". "The jury's mind was made up even before they were sworn in."

"The sherrif had told the reporters from out-of-state that they would be segregated whether they liked it or not". "When sherrif Stridel came into the courthouse he said to the white folks 'godd day people' then turned to the colored folks and said 'good-day niggers' and continued to walk to the front of the room". She gave the description of the court-room one of the kangaroo type.

"Before the proceedings, Roy and his family were having a great pickinic. Everyone was being treated to candy and pop. They were having the grandest time. If a stranger had walked in, he thought he had been witnessing a party instead of a trial".

She commented on the way the judge handled the case, but had no mercy for anyone else. Some of the other comments she heard follow:

1. A whiteman was overheard saying outside of the courthouse "Emmett Till's mother might be able to get a little tear if she tried hard enough".
2. The jury only took "45 minutes to deliberate the verdict" and a juror had said: "We would have been back sooner, if it weren't for the fact that we stopped by for a coke".

She claimed that if Mrs. Bryant was "twanty-one she was twanty-one too" and that if she is what you call pretty (pause) well I have no comments" as much as if to say that Mrs. Bryant was as ugly as the next street lampost on the corner.

"Emmett Till as most of you know had a speech impediment and therefore could not have possibly wolf-whistled at Mrs. Bryant. If he did whistle at all was because of her roving eyes which induced the young boy to whistle at her".

After having given a complete description and story-detailed of what had transpired, she turned into a flame of hate and rekindled the almost dead ashes that remained in the audience. She denounced everyone from the Governor on down to the hate councils of Mississippi. She said: "I am sick and tired of hearing about the Iron curtain and the bamboo curtain in other parts of the world, when we have a white curtain here in our own country - in the State of Mississippi, where Negroes are held in virtual slavery which is prohibited by the Constitution of the United States".

Mr. Robert P. Patterson  
November 14, 1955  
Page - 4 -

She tore at the Hon. Judge Tom P. Brady and stated "that in Mississippi the best seller was 'Black Monday' which caused the jury to vote as they did". She claimed that the white people as a general rule were poor and ignorant with very little schooling with the exception of the lucky few who were able to migrate North to obtain their education.

The meeting finally came to an end with the Negroes so aroused as to have caused a riot in that church. Their passions were so moved that we (me and two others who attended the meeting) left immediately for fear of our lives being burned at a stake.

Among those in the audience were three white trash who have succumbed to the diabolical aim of the NAACP, whose only purpose is a mullattoe world. One being a white women, whose is the Miami Beach secretary of the NAACP in this area. A white gentile who in all probability denounced the white race long time ago and joined in with the colored race.

Their next meeting followed three days later at the Unitarian Church (white) which is a pro-integrationist church and a breeding ground for Communist who mix freely with the Miami members of the NAACP.

At this meeting, the main speaker was Ruth W. Perry (white) Secretary of the Miami Beach Branch of the NAACP. The topics were:

- (a) The murder of the Illinois schoolboy in Mississippi
- (b) The firing upon and wounding of Negro unionist (in Florida)
- (c) The organization of the "hate council's" in southern communities.
- (d) The economic boycott of Negro leaders.

Her story (Ruth) were along the very same lines heard previously by Ruby, although toned down much in a hate-sort-of-way. It was surprising but not too much, that no Negroes attended this meeting, although they usually do on a unsegregated basis. However, this night, only White people showed up - all in all about 24 or 25.

It is definite that the White's who attended this meeting, mimues those who went with me, were die-hard integrationist and firm believers in one race. Some of the comments taken at random during the talk were:-----

1. "The NAACP is the mother organization of the United States, who is trying to get the fanatic element of the South to eat the solid food of democracy".
2. "As far as I am concerned, Mississippi has left the Union. Mississippi is at war with the United States Government at all appearances."
3. "I want to tell you about Mississippi - Mississippi holds the lynching record of the United States. 572 Lynchings are credited to the State of Mississippi.
4. "The Negro has been brainwashed by the American public."
5. "The NAACP is the greatest think that has happened since the election of Abraham Lincoln. The NAACP will lead the way to democracy."

Ruth also took the opportunity of denouncing the entire southland and everything it ever stood for, including all of its institutions - no matter what they be.

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*L.A. Everett*

# CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

2006 WALNUT STREET

Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Rittenhouse 6-1480

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A. J. MUSTE

*Co-Chairmen*

ALLEN S. OLMSTED, 2ND

KATHARINE M. ARNETT

*Treasurers*

LYLE TATUM, *Executive Secretary*

November, 1955

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DATE 9/17/81 BY 60247WLS  
9/18/81 KSO/LHM

Dear Friend:

How many times must a conscientious objector go to prison because of his unwillingness to cooperate with conscription? That is the question we asked the United States Supreme Court in the Vail Palmer case. Unfortunately, we have just received word that the Court will not review the case.

Vail, a Quaker conscientious objector who rejects all conscription, was first sentenced as a nonregistrant. The prison authorities registered him, and Vail was then processed by his local board. The board eventually ordered him to report for induction into the army, even though their files showed he was a full time student in a school of theology, a conscientious objector, and, of course, a convicted felon.

This arbitrary handling was sustained by the lower courts only because Vail did not appeal to Selective Service. Such an appeal would have been totally inconsistent with his position. The conviction was sustained by a 4-3 vote by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals. The strong minority opinion encourages us to believe that our years of work against cat and mouse prosecutions are bringing some results.

It costs money to ask questions of the Supreme Court, even when you don't get answers or the answers go against you. In spite of the generous donation of time by the defense attorney, the expenses of the Palmer case were nearly \$2,000. Now we must carry other cases to press for the right answers. All money which CCCO spends on court work must be raised over and above our regular operating budget of \$21,500 which maintains our many services such as counseling, distribution of information, and technical assistance.

The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors was set up by representatives of peace and civil liberties committees and the peace churches at the time of the passage of the 1948 draft law to meet needs not covered by existing organizations. The work is nation-wide in scope. It benefits all who are interested in preserving and promoting democratic ideals and religious liberty.

We earnestly solicit your financial assistance for this work which must be done. Checks may be made payable to CCCO and mailed in the return envelope enclosed for your convenience. Any share you can take in this work will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

*Ray Newton*  
Ray Newton

*A. J. Muste*  
A. J. Muste

Why

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ORDER NOW! List additional names on back.

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# Peace Calendar 1 9 5 6

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Mr. Robert B. Patterson

Page - 5 -

November 14, 1955

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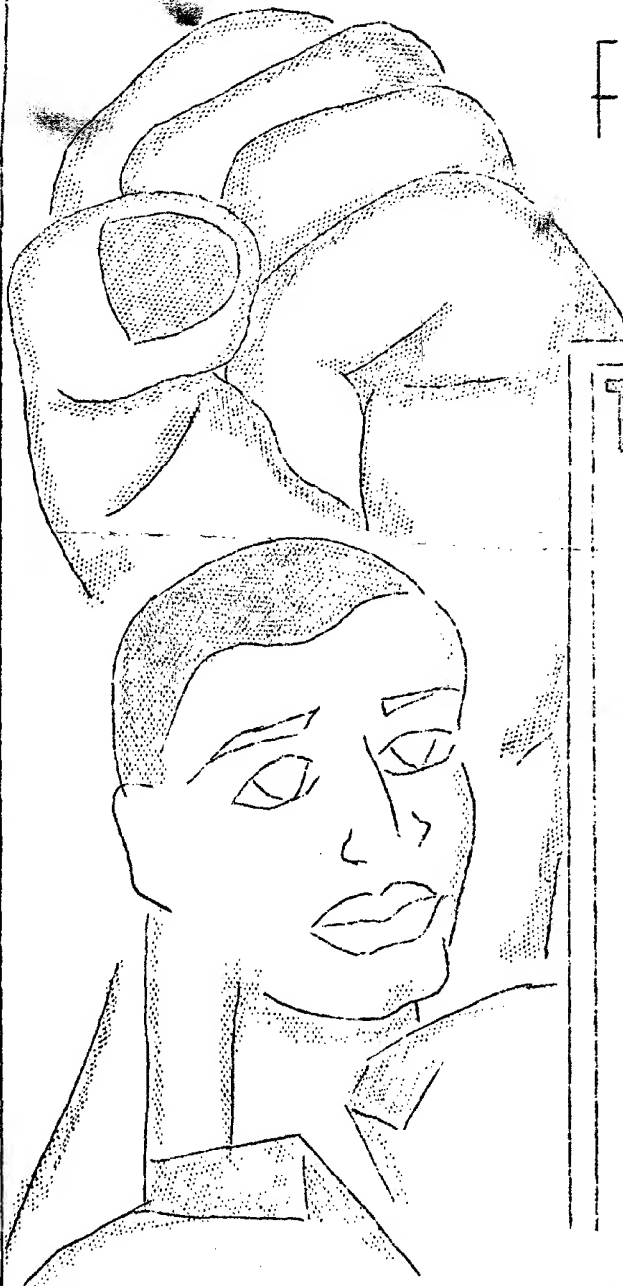
After the talk a free for all was had. Everyone gave thierx degrading opinion on the subject and it ranged from immediate integration to a one world race and government. They praised everything communistically and denounced Americanism. For us to have gotten up and say the opposit would have invited the undertaker.

I don't know of what value the above will be, but in any manner, I thought I would pass it along to you just the same. Of course, telling this to you is one thing, to have seen and heard it in person is another. I hope you will be able to come down some week to Miami and attend one of these so-called "Community Forums" - correct name "Communist Forums".

Wishing you all the success again in your undertakings, I remain

Yours faithfully,





# FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM PRESENTS

II

## THE CHANGING SOUTH

WHY WAS EMMETT TILL  
LYNCHED?

CAN TERROR STEM THE  
DRIVE OF THE NEGROES  
FOR EQUALITY?

WHY NOW? WHY DOES  
TERROR BREAK OUT AT  
THIS TIME?

WHAT IS LABOR'S ROLE  
IN THE NEW SOUTH?

SPEAKER: **EVE BAILY**

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*California*

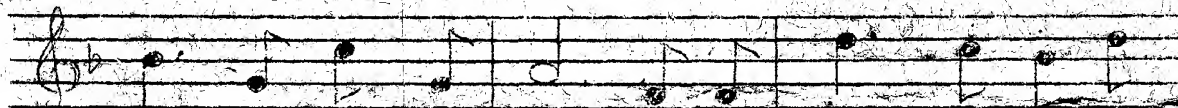
FRIDAY NOV. 18 TH  
1702 E. 4TH ST. 8:15 P.M.  
DONATION 35¢  
QUESTIONS & DISCUSSION  
AUSPICES: SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY

RIVER OF MY PEOPLE --words by Peter Seeger  
--music: Russian melody

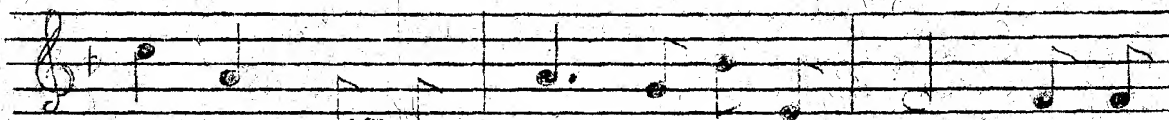
With a moderate, flowing line



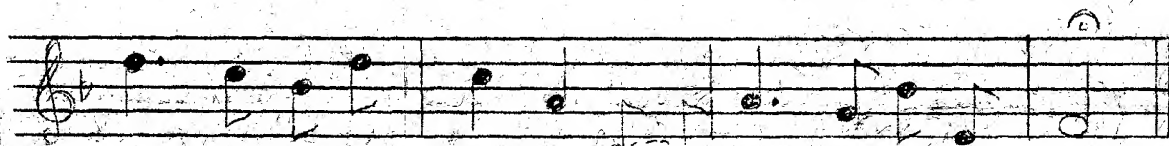
1. There's a Riv- er Of My Peo - ple And its
2. Man - y rocks and reefs and mountains Seek to
3. You will find me in the mainstream Steer - ing
4. For I have mapped this riv - er And I
5. Oh Riv - er Of My Peo - ple To - -



flow is swift and strong, Flow - ing to some might - y  
bar its storm - y way, But re - lent - less - ly this  
sure - ly thru the foam, Far be - yond the rag - ing  
know its liv - ing force, And the cour - age that this  
geth - er we must go, Hast - en on - ward to that



o - cean, Though its course is deep and long, Flow - ing  
riv - er, Seeks its broth - ers at the sea, But re -  
wat - ers I can see our cer - tain home, Far be -  
gives me Will hold me to my course, And the  
meet - ing Where my broth - ers wait I know, Hast - en



to some might - y o - cean, Though its course is deep and long.  
lent - less - ly this riv - er, Seeks its brothers at the sea.  
yond the rag - ing wat - ers, I can see our certain home.  
cour - age that this gives me Will hold me to my course.  
on - ward to that meeting Where my brothers wait I know.

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the miami community forum presents  
wednesday november 2 - 8:15 pm

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wednesday november 9 - 8:15 pm

.....the murder of the illinois schoolboy in mississippi  
.....the firing upon and wounding of negro unionists  
.....the organization of the "hate councils" in southern communities  
.....the economic boycott of negro leaders

T E R R O R :     A N     A N S W E R     T O     D E S E G R E G A T I O N

panel:

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**DATE 01/10/01 BY 60261WJ**

9164421 6/1/01

The Reverend Edward T. Graham  
Mount Zion Baptist Church

Ruth W. Perry  
Sec'y, Miami Branch, N.A.A.C.P.  
Sec'y, State Conference of Branches, N.A.A.C.P.

Both Forums held at and sponsored by The First Unitarian Church of Miami  
50¢                      Dixie Highway at S.W. 29th Road                      50¢

On Tuesday, Nov. 1, hear Dr. Luella N. Dambaugh,  
Geography Professor, U. of M., speak on "Hunger  
and Peoples." Adult Education Series on Mondays  
thereafter.

From \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

2006 WALNUT STREET

PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

# CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Room 300 — 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa. — RI 6-1480

Date \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_

Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help support the CCCO.

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Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors

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City and zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Receipts will be sent for contributions by cash or money order. If you wish a receipt for contribution sent by check, please mark here: ☐

A Pulpit Review of John Wexley's "The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" delivered Sunday, September 25, 1955 at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles by Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman.

Emil Zola, years after Dreyfus was confined, wrote: "The affair is only now beginning". It is my deep conviction that the same statement can now be made about the Rosenberg case. I have never made this world famous court case a subject of a sermon, but having read this summer every page of the 672-page volume "The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" by John Wexley, I would be unable to face myself if I did not bear this testimony of conscience. I am utterly persuaded that these two people were not guilty of the crime charged and that they were cruelly executed as the victims of our own engendered Cold War hysteria. No one man or woman is responsible for their deaths, though four or five persons bear especially heavy burdens of responsibility, as Mr. Wexley shows with exhaustive thoroughness. No, we are all guilty to some degree, for our apathy, our hesitation, our cowardice.

I would ask every person within sound of my voice to do one thing at least in the immediate days ahead - read Mr. Wexley's book, whether you are a slow reader like myself and take three weeks to do it, or whether you are a fast reader and do it in two or three days. Whether you come to the same conclusion as myself (and more importantly the same conclusion as Mr. Wexley, Dr. Harold Urey, Dr. D. N. Pritt, the historian Arnold Toynbee, and thousands of others who have studied the record with painstaking care), you will have done what all liberals owe to their credo of integrity...Possibly you will come out the same door as we have come, possibly you will decide that the third victim, still alive, Morton Sobell, should have a new trial. I am frankly pleading this morning for more than an academic intellectual or moral exercise; I am pleading for continued agitation for the release of a man separated from wife and children by the same hatred and fear which, compounded into hysteria, killed the Rosenbergs. He has served five years but he need not serve thirty. You have every right to differ with Mr. Wexley or myself, but not until you have made a serious effort to advance beyond the passion and the distortion that marked this infamous trial and execution. The least every one of us can do is read the material so brilliantly and eloquently organized for us, the common citizens of this land.

Mr. Wexley's book marshals the evidence most impressively to say that the Rosenberg affair is the latest major case of frame-up in the long and tragic procession of frame-ups throughout history. He is not impartial, nor am I. The late Professor Gaetano Salvemini, for many years at Harvard University, rightly said at one time: "Impartiality is either a delusion of the simpleminded, a banner of the opportunist, or the boast of the dishonest. Nobody is entitled to be unbiased toward truth or falsehood." I sincerely believe Mr. Wexley has brought hitherto hidden and suppressed facts to the light of day for all of us to use in making our own judgment. Let us remember Jonathan Swift's moving words centuries ago: "Falsehood flies and truth comes limping after it." As one still seared by the memory of colossal error in the Dreyfus case, the Mooney case, the Sacco and Venzetti case, the Scottsboro case, to say nothing of study of earlier crimes at Salem in the 17th century and Haymarket Square, Chicago, in the 19th, I want to see Americans become far more sensitive to the evil of the frame-up as an ugly but indubitable reality in our public life. It can be abated, and to a large degree ended, if we learn some of the dynamics of public education. These dynamics include a knowledge of moral corruption in high places, the use of sick and admittedly dishonest informers, the impatient trial of the accused in the midst of inflammatory headlines, and finally the consolidation of high authority in the White House, the Department of Justice and the Supreme Court to end further review of the case and complete the execution of the victims. It is not too much to believe we can have legal redress in time to be effective against such frustrations of justice in a real democracy. None of us are secure from the long arm of the frame-up until such dynamics become a part of our common life.

We can decrease and in due time, I believe, end the reign of credulity throughout society at large, at least in its more lethal operations in gas chamber and electric chair. I would remind you, even in this brief statement today, of Professor Borchard's book Convicting the Innocent published twenty years ago by the Yale University Press, a sobering study of 65 innocent persons charged and convicted in this country. We all suffer by this sickness of closing the doors on our more infamous cases of injustice. I not only want hundreds of letters to flow tomorrow and in the days ahead to U.S. Director of Prisons, James V. Bennett, Washington 25, D.C. asking for the transfer of Morton Sobell from Alcatraz, I also want all of us to study this case with infinite care, through the pages of Mr. Wexley's book and other sources you may choose to read, so that you may understand better the words of Supreme Court Justice Hugh Black, words spoken the day after the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: "It is not amiss to point out that this court has never reviewed the record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial below. Without the affirmance of the fairness of the trial by the highest court in the land there may always be questions as to whether these executions were legally and rightfully carried out".



I want you to exhibit the same concern and integrity that marked the editorial comments of The Catholic Worker in March, 1953, when the editor wrote: "It is generally conceded that should the testimony of the Greenglasses be thrown out, the case against the Rosenbergs would not hold out...and yet there is a curious readiness to accept without question the testimony of the Greenglasses. The fact that they turned State's evidence seems to have cleansed them of all unreliability!" After three weeks of reading of Mr. Wexley's searching report on the Greenglass testimony and the conditions attending the receiving of it, I share the Catholic editor's persistently haunting skepticism regarding its reliability.

We are a proud people in America and we cherish the democratic ideal. But it is an exacting and demanding principle we have taken to our hearts. This ideal must, if it is to be successful, command us to exercise far more responsibility in our press, our courts, our homes, our own minds than we have yet mustered in hours of crisis, when the diseased and the terrorized cry for blood is heard in the land. This cry asks no questions. But the world asked questions before the switch was thrown at Sing Sing. Distant farmers, the Pope in the Vatican, the President of France, Vincent Auriol, Harold Urey, Nobel Prize winner, Justice James Wolfe of the Utah Supreme Court, and millions of plain folk in many lands asked questions - again and again. Americans in a tidal wave of deep concern asked questions. But it was not enough...any more than it was enough to save two Italian anarchists in Boston a generation ago. But this is a case that is not closed. A young father on a prison island in San Francisco Bay can be freed, if those of us persuaded of his innocence show sufficient concern in the immediate days ahead. I do not know whether the Greenglasses or Harry Gold or Max Elitcher will ever confess their ignoble role in this case. Whether I live to read of such admissions is unimportant. But it is important that you and I banish the frame-up as a primitive device of torture in our land. We can find and punish the guilty without terrorizing the innocent or silencing the millions who fear reprisals if they speak their heart's compulsion. It is for our country's health I care the most, and that is something of your making and mine. Justices Douglas and Black can help us, Mr. Wexley, who is with us here this morning, can help us, but in the long run the transaction takes place privately in our own hearts... and publicly in our deeds. History will hold us accountable.

Stephen H. Fritchman

NOTE:

There are two steps to be taken in behalf of Morton Sobell, who is now imprisoned at Alcatraz, where he can never be visited by his children, very rarely by his wife, very rarely by the attorneys who are working to prove his innocence.. The first step is to join the international demand on Director of Prisons, James V. Bennett, (Washington 25, D.C.) that Sobell be transferred to another Federal prison. This demand is an urgent one, and Morton Sobell's health, sanity, and even life depend on its success. The second step is to contribute effort and money to the movement to secure his vindication.

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